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## MARGARET ROPER'S ENGLISH VERSION OF ERASMUS' *PRECATIO DOMINICA* AND THE APPRENTICESHIP BEHIND EARLY TUDOR TRANSLATION

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THE following article falls into two closely related and yet separate parts. The first centres in the work under consideration and discusses in turn various facts which pertain to it. The second, growing out of the first, centres in what is known of the apprenticeship behind the work and argues that this knowledge may offer an important clue to the apprenticeship behind other contemporary English translations by the disciples of humanism.

### I

Erasmus' *Precatio dominica in septem portiones distributa*, a short treatise which, as the title indicates, follows the mediæval manner of biblical exposition known as postillating,<sup>1</sup> was first published in 1523 by Froben at Basle. Several editions appeared during this and the next year.<sup>2</sup> By October 1, 1524,<sup>3</sup> it had been translated

<sup>1</sup> For postillating (expounding the text according to the order of the text), see G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (1926), pp. 309 f. Mirandola employed a similar method in interpreting the Sixteenth Psalm. See *More's Life of Mirandola, Etc.* (1890), ed. J. M. Rigg, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bibliotheca Erasmiana* (Ghent, 1893), 1st Ser., p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Hyrde's prefatory letter mentions the translation as completed and bears the following subscription (B3<sup>v</sup>): "At Chelcheth/ the yere of our lorde god/ a thousande fyue hundred .xxiiii. The first day of Octobre." This subscription also provides the earliest certain evidence of More's actual removal to Chelsea. See *Opus epist. Eras.* (1906-), ed. P. S. and H. M. Allen, iv. ep. 999, l. 133n.

into English by Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas More, and this translation, with an introductory letter <sup>1</sup> by Richard Hyrde, a member of More's household at Chelsea, was printed by Berthelet before March 12, 1525/6.<sup>2</sup>

The translation and the letter have survived in what is evidently a unique copy of an edition which was probably not the first, but one soon after it.<sup>3</sup> The title-page (A1<sup>r</sup>) of this copy, a black-letter quarto in the British Museum, reads as follows :

¶ A deuout treatise/ vpon the Pater no=|ster/ made fyrst in latyn by the moost fa=|mous doctour mayster Erasmus | Roterodamus/ and tourned | in to englishe by a yong | vertuous and well | lerned gentyl-woman of .xix. | yere of age.

Beneath these words is found, within ornamental borders, a woodcut (9.5 cm. × 5 cm.) of a woman seated at a reading desk and turning the pages of a folio.<sup>4</sup> On the reverse of this leaf is a full-page woodcut (13 cm. × 9.2 cm.) containing Cardinal Wolsey's Arms.<sup>5</sup>

The letter extends from A2<sup>r</sup> to B3<sup>v</sup> inclusive ; the translation from B4<sup>r</sup> to F4<sup>v</sup> inclusive. F4<sup>v</sup> also contains the colophon :

¶ Thus endeth the exposition of the Pater noster. | Imprinted at London in Fletestrete/ in the | house of Thomas Berthelet nere

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in Foster Watson, *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women* (1912), pp. 162 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See A. W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (1926), p. 169. Because Hyrde speaks, in his prefatory letter, of the labour he has had with the translation "about the printing" (Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 171), probably the book first appeared in the latter part of 1524 or early in 1525.

<sup>3</sup> See Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 172. In *Hand-lists of English Printers*, pt. i (1895), p. 15, Duff mentions an edition of 1524 by De Worde. But no copy of any edition prior to Berthelet's is known to exist. Furthermore, Berthelet's testimony before the Vicar-General (Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 f.) makes it fairly certain that the work first issued from his press.

<sup>4</sup> This cut is listed as no. 2012 in E. Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*, "Bibliog. Soc. Illust. Monogs.," no. xxii (1935), p. 397.

<sup>5</sup> This woodcut has, enclosed within rules and a border of flowers, seeds, and, evidently, cardinals' hats, a formal design, on its upper half, of a cardinal's hat, with long strings, and of a cross ; on its lower half, a shield bearing Arms : [Sable] on a cross engrailed [argent] a lion passant guardant crowned [or], between four leopards' faces [azure] ; on a chief [of the second] a rose [of the third] between two Cornish choughs [proper]. These Arms are assigned in Burke's *Encyclopædia of Heraldry* (3d ed., 1844) to Wolsey of Suffolk. The Arms assigned by Burke to Cardinal Wolsey contain a slight difference, notably in showing a lion merely passant, not passant guardant crowned. These latter Arms were adopted by Christ Church, Oxford. See H. L. Thompson, *Christ Church* (1900), p. 268. The presence of Wolsey's Arms may be explained by the requirement that printers exhibit their copy to him or to Warham, Tunstal, or Fisher. See Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff., esp. p. 170.

to the | Cundite/ at the signe of Lucrece. | Cum priuilegio a rege indulto.

The type used in the text is an old fount of De Worde's.<sup>1</sup>

First I would direct attention to the dates. Written and published during the middle of the 1520's, this translation preceded all but a few of the many English translations by the sixteenth-century humanists. Accordingly it belongs to the early history of an important movement, one which did much to establish modern English literary prose. Since, besides, a considerable contribution to this movement was made by the numerous vernacular versions of various works of Erasmus, its significance is increased, for, with the exception of Tindale's version of the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*,<sup>2</sup> it is the first among those to which we can assign a fairly definite date of composition; and with the possible exception of Gentien Hervet's version of the *De immensa dei misericordia* and Thomas Berthelet's version of several collections of apophthegms edited by Erasmus and printed in Latin and English in a volume under the general title of *Dicta sapientum*,<sup>3</sup> it is the first that was published.

Also noteworthy is the fact of female authorship. Not only was the translation made when few Englishwomen had practised literature of any sort, but it was published soon after its completion, and published, besides, with a prefatory letter and a title-page which conjointly offered a decisive clue to the translator's identity. Not long before its appearance More had written to Margaret and praised her for continuing her literary labours despite the fact that she could not, as he intimated, hope to enlarge her circle of readers much beyond her family.<sup>4</sup> After quoting this part of More's letter Stapleton added this extended comment: "She had produced works which fully deserved to be published and read by all, although the bashfulness of her sex, or her humility, or the almost incredible novelty of the thing (as More hints) never allowed her to consent to publication."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Stapleton did not know of this printed

<sup>1</sup> See F. Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types*, "Bibliog. Soc. Facs. and Illust.," no. ii (1930), "Berthelet."

<sup>2</sup> This version was evidently written about 1521 or 1522. See my article in *P.M.L.A.*, XLIX (1934), pp. 461 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Thomae Mori opera omnia* (Frankfort on the Main, 1689), p. 40 of the reprint of Thomas Stapleton's "Vita Mori," which was first published as part of his *Tres Thomae* (Douai, 1588). A reference to Margaret's first confinement places this letter in 1522 or early 1523. See *Roper's Lyfe of Moore*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, E.E.T.S., O.S. 197 (1935), p. xxxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, p. 41. The English is that of P. E. Hallett's translation (1928) of the "Vita Mori," p. 115.

translation. He devoted a whole chapter to Margaret Roper without referring to it. Nevertheless he spoke of Richard Hyrde with such little real knowledge as to suggest that what information he had about Hyrde was derived from this book.<sup>1</sup> Hence these last words should perhaps be read as literally true, in which case we must conclude that the translation was published by Hyrde<sup>2</sup> or another without her permission. But even if Stapleton is in error and she did consent to its publication, she must have been somewhat hesitant about doing so, for while a few works had already been written by Englishwomen and published under their names, none of these publications bore a sufficiently close analogy to this one to have given her decision much support.

Among these works was not Juliana of Norwich's *Revelations of Divine Love*, for it remained in manuscript until 1670.<sup>3</sup> About 1501, however, and again twenty years later—this time with six other devotional tracts—*A shorte treatyse of contemplacyon* was printed, a fragment "taken out of the boke of Margerie kempe of Lynn."<sup>4</sup> In the famous *Boke of St. Albans* (1486), too, the second of the original three parts—that on hunting—has near its end the words, "Explicit Dam Julyans Barnes."<sup>5</sup> And finally there were two translations by the mother of Henry VII, the illustrious Lady Margaret (Beaufort),<sup>6</sup> who died in 1509. The first, which was of the spurious Fourth Book of the *Imitatio Christi*, appeared in separate form<sup>7</sup> in 1504 as a supplement to William Atkynson's

<sup>1</sup> From Hyrde's letter Stapleton might easily have deduced that Hyrde was a tutor in the More household and thereupon have guessed the remainder of what he says, some of which is clearly wrong. See the discussion of Hyrde later in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently it was he who saw the book through the press (see Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. G. Warrack (1901), p. xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted in *The Cell of Self-Knowledge* (1910), ed. E. G. Gardner, pp. 51 ff. The early editions are numbered 14924 and 20972 in the *Short-title Cat.* In 1936 the book itself, begun in 1436, was published in a modern version made by W. Butler-Bowdon.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. W. Blades (1881). For a possible identification of the authoress (c. 1500?), see pp. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> For her life see C. H. Cooper's *Memoir of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (1874); E. M. G. Routh, *Lady Margaret* (1924).

<sup>7</sup> It has a separate colophon and separate foliation. The colophon of Atkynson's translation is dated June 27, 1503. This one is undated, but 1504 appears in the *Incipit*. Hence the *Short-title Cat.*, no. 23955, is misleading. Cf. Dom Raynal's edition of R. Whytford's translation of the *Imitatio Christi* (N.Y., 1909), pp. vii f. For the text of the Lady Margaret's translation see *The Earliest English translation of the . . . De Imitatione Christi*, ed. J. K. Ingram, E.E.T.S., E.S. 63 (1893), pp. 259 ff.



translation (1503) of the three authentic books. Both here and in the later editions, most of which include all four books, her authorship is acknowledged. The second, also published under her name, was of Denis de Leeuwis' *Speculum aureum animæ peccatricis*.<sup>1</sup> The two earliest editions of this translation to be dated are of 1522. It was reprinted in 1526 and probably later.<sup>2</sup>

Of these four hitherto printed writings avowedly by Englishwomen, only these two translations offered any valid precedent for the non-anonymous publication of Margaret Roper's translation. Yet neither could have lent much encouragement to the undertaking. One, though it first appeared separately, was but an addition to another work, and the other seems to have been published posthumously.<sup>3</sup> Nor was this all. Distinguished as well for her generous and intelligent patronage of literature and learning as for her social eminence, the Lady Margaret was perhaps the most famous Englishwoman of her time. Margaret Roper, on the other hand, was only nineteen or twenty when her translation was published, and though because of her father's extensive circle of intimate friends there were undoubtedly many who already knew of her remarkable cultural attainments, these people could have constituted but a small portion of the reading public. The books themselves exhibit this contrast. Whereas the Lady Margaret's translations were introduced by a notice which merely stated who the translator was,<sup>4</sup> this other translation was prefaced by a letter which served to point out the translator's fitness for the task and the merits of the translation itself. So while the publication of Margaret Roper's translation may have been somewhat influenced by these two publications slightly prior to it, there is this major difference to be noted. And because it was one thing for the Lady Margaret to appear before the public as an authoress and quite another for a relatively unknown girl to do so, we may discern in this later publication a literary venture the very modesty of which but emphasizes its novelty.

Had it not been for the circumstance of female authorship, Hyrde's letter, which Foster Watson calls "the first reasoned claim of the Renaissance period, written in English, for the higher education

<sup>1</sup> See W. E. A. Axon, "The Lady Margaret as a Lover of Literature," in the *Library*, 2d Ser., VIII (1907), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of the editions see the *Short-title Cat.*, nos. 6895 ff. An undated edition by Pynson is here put later than the 1526 edition. Axon, however, states it appeared about 1507 (*op. cit.*, p. 39).

<sup>3</sup> See the above note.

<sup>4</sup> See the transcriptions in Axon, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

of women,"<sup>1</sup> would not have appeared. Though, as a poem by John Leland indicates,<sup>2</sup> he was evidently a man of some prominence, this letter is one of the few records of him that we possess. During part of the 1520's he certainly lived with More's family,<sup>3</sup> and his reference to More as "my singular good master and bringer up"<sup>4</sup> suggests that he had commenced to do so before going to Oxford, where he became Bachelor of Arts in 1519.<sup>5</sup> According to Stapleton, who is the first of More's biographers to mention Hyrde, he succeeded William Gonell as a tutor in More's household and taught the grandchildren.<sup>6</sup> The first part of this statement may well be correct, for Gonell appears to have left More's service about the time Hyrde graduated from Oxford.<sup>7</sup> Since, however, Hyrde died in the early spring of 1528,<sup>8</sup> having suffered a bad drenching in fording a swollen river just outside of Orvieto when accompanying Gardiner and Fox on their journey to Rome to advance the Divorce,<sup>9</sup> he could hardly have taught More's grandchildren, the oldest of whom was born in 1522 or 1523.<sup>10</sup>

Judging from some of his remarks in the prefatory letter, one of his pupils was the "Fraunces S." to whom it is addressed.<sup>11</sup> She, still a young girl in 1524,<sup>12</sup> when the letter was written, was the daughter of More's oldest sister Joan (n. March 11, 1474/5)<sup>13</sup> and Richard Stafferton, one of the prenotaries of the Sheriff's court of London,<sup>14</sup> and she had been brought up "of a babe"<sup>15</sup> among

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Lelandi Collectanea* (1770), ed. T. Hearne, v. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the evidence already provided, see a letter of Gardiner and Fox dated March 23, 1527/8, in which Hyrde is mentioned as having "dwelled with Master Chancellor of Duchie." *Records of the Reformation, The Divorce*, 1527-33 (1870), ed. N. Pocock, i. 88 f.

<sup>4</sup> Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 31. This is in Hyrde's dedicatory letter to Queen Catherine of his translation of Vives' *De institutione feminae Christianae*.

<sup>5</sup> His *supplicat* is dated July 8th. See J. Foster, *Alumni Oxon.*, II—Early Ser. (1891), 719.

<sup>6</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, p. 35. Cresacre More, in his *Life of More* (1726), p. 124, adds nothing of value about Hyrde, merely rearranging somewhat the information provided by Stapleton.

<sup>7</sup> See *Opus epist. Eras.*, i. ep. 274 introd.

<sup>8</sup> On March 25th. See *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, IV. pt. 2, no. 4103.

<sup>9</sup> *Records of the Reformation*, i. 88.

<sup>10</sup> See *Roper's Lyfe of Moore*, p. xxxii.

<sup>11</sup> For an indication that Hyrde taught "Frances S." note the sentence beginning at the bottom of p. 170 in Watson, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 170.

<sup>13</sup> See *Harpfield's Life of Moore*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers, E.E.T.S., O.S. 186 (1932), p. 299.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 307 and 313. It is not known how long before Sept. 13, 1520 (see *ibid.*, p. 313), this marriage occurred or when Frances was born.

<sup>15</sup> Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

More's children. Probably, too, some and perhaps all of these children were also taught by Hyrde. His continued presence in More's household and his great enthusiasm for the instruction of women in humane letters—an enthusiasm evident not only in his letter to Frances Stafferton but in the fact that he translated Vives' *De institutione feminae Christianae*<sup>1</sup>—together warrant such a conclusion. Yet nowhere does he say or even imply that he ever taught any of More's children, and though More refers at times to Gonell and Nicholas Kratzer as their tutors,<sup>2</sup> Hyrde's name is never mentioned by him in any connection. Furthermore, Hyrde's presence in the More household may be explained by the description of him at his death as "singularly learned in physic, in the Greek and Latin tongues," one in whose "learning and experience in physic" Gardiner and Fox had great confidence,<sup>3</sup> for these references suggest that his major function while with the Mores during the 1520's was to act as a resident family-doctor. As such, however, he may well have done a good amount of teaching in humane letters. And he may have taught medicine to Margaret Roper, to whom in 1521 or somewhat later her father wrote that it was to medical science, together with the study of sacred literature, that he wished her eventually to devote her life.<sup>4</sup>

Because Hyrde became Bachelor of Arts in 1519 and was still a young man<sup>5</sup> when he died in 1528, he was probably only a few years older than Margaret Roper. She, as we know from the combined evidence of the title-page and prefatory letter of her translation, was born about 1505.<sup>6</sup> For ever endeared to posterity because of her heart-rending loyalty and devotion to her father in the cruel days of his martyrdom, even as a young girl she was

<sup>1</sup> The *Short-title Cat.*, nos. 24856 ff., lists eight editions of this translation, beginning with one published by Berthelet about 1529. Hyrde's dedicatory letter to Queen Catherine and a liberal amount of the translation itself are reprinted in Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mori opera omnia*, pp. 36 ff. John Clement was also one of their tutors, leaving More's household in 1518 to go to Oxford and, later, abroad. See E. Wenkebach, *John Clement (Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin, Leipzig, 1925)*, pp. 4 ff. A man named Drew is also mentioned in a way to suggest that he was one of these tutors. See *Mori opera omnia*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Reformation*, I. 88, and *L. and P. Henry VIII*, IV. pt. 2, no. 4103.

<sup>4</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, p. 42. This letter, written after Margaret's marriage on July 2, 1521 (see *Roper's Lyfe of Moore*, p. xxxii), is placed by Miss E. F. Rogers, with a query, in 1521. See *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxvii (1922), p. 555.

<sup>5</sup> *Records of the Reformation*, I. 88.

<sup>6</sup> She must have been born during the year preceding Oct. 1, 1505. See *Roper's Lyfe of Moore*, pp. 108 f.

highly esteemed by her relatives and friends for her fineness of character and her erudition. Brought up with her brother and sisters, and others, in the school maintained by More in his home—a school described by Erasmus as a Platonic Academy of the Christian religion<sup>1</sup>—and continuing to study under tutors after her marriage to William Roper in 1521, she surpassed in sacred and humane learning all her fellow-students. Despite her sex, moreover, she was not content to remain a mere recipient of this learning. She developed a capability for critical scholarship, and to her we are indebted for a lasting emendation of a corrupt passage in St. Cyprian.<sup>2</sup> She also strove to acquire a finished style in Latin composition, and how well she succeeded is revealed in the praise given by Stapleton to a speech of hers in imitation of Quintilian<sup>3</sup> and by Reginald Pole and others to some of her Latin letters which More proudly permitted them to see.<sup>4</sup>

We do not know whether she took her father's advice and first wrote these letters in English, thereby resolving the thought and its general arrangement before attacking the problem of putting what she had to say into Latin.<sup>5</sup> It is certain, however, that she frequently practised English composition. When, about 1522, More was writing his vernacular *Treatise of the Four Last Things*, he requested her to write independently on the same subject.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the competence of her version of Erasmus' treatise indicates a considerable apprenticeship in the art of vernacular translation.

Hyrde's appraisal of its merit is both enthusiastic and perspicacious:

. . . whoso list, and well can confer and examine, the translation with the original, he shall not fail to find that she hath shewed herself not only erudite and elegant in either tongue, but hath also used such wisdom, such discreet and substantial judgment, in expressing lively the Latin, as a man may peradventure miss in many things translated and turned by them, that bear the name of rightwise and very well learned men . . .<sup>7</sup>

While these words would be worth quoting if only because they indicate a comprehension, at this early date, of the broad principles

<sup>1</sup> *Epist. Eras.* (London, 1642), p. 1506 C.

<sup>2</sup> See Harpsfield's *Life of Moore*, pp. 332 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19 and 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

which must ever determine the excellence of any translation, they also afford a sound contemporary estimate of this one. For although the translation proceeds straightforwardly from one clause to another of the often long and somewhat involved sentences of the original, it rarely follows the Latin ordering and structure to the extent of being slavishly literal. At times, to be sure, an absolute-participle construction reveals its Latin source,<sup>1</sup> and there is a tendency for adjectives to succeed nouns and for verbs to gravitate towards the ends of clauses. But in spite of these occasional defects it is evident what Hyrde meant when he praised the translator's judgment as "discreet and substantial" and the translation as "lively," for in general the Latin construction is treated with a felicitous freedom which combines scholarship and art. The diction is also praiseworthy, a Latin word being seldom expressed by its English derivative. Likewise observable now and again is a pleasing rhythm,<sup>2</sup> attained in part by skillfully transposing the Latin order. Accordingly, though what Hyrde says must be somewhat qualified, his is on the whole a just critical estimate, and the translation is to be regarded as a mature achievement of its kind.

## II

This immediately raises a question. How could Margaret Roper, whose early linguistic education we should suppose to have been almost exclusively concerned with Latin and Greek, to the neglect of literary composition in English, have yet been able to write English so well when she was only nineteen? There is, it should here be said, no reason whatever to believe that the translation was not wholly her own work. Not long before she made it her father had complimented her by mentioning Reginald Pole's difficulty in believing that one of her Latin letters had been written entirely by her, and by commenting on how she would ever be accused of having enlisted the aid of others. Yet "of all writers," More had added, "you least deserved to be thus suspected. Even

<sup>1</sup> E.g.: *qui propulsato timore servili non veretur in cordibus nostris assidue clamare* is translated: "whiche (all seruauntlye feares shaken of) boldly cryeth out in our hertes without cessyng" (B4<sup>r</sup>). The Latin is taken from *Eras. opera omnia*, ed. Le Clerc, Leyden, v (1704), 1219 B.

<sup>2</sup> E.g.: "And in dede / we dare none other thyng desyre of the / than what thy sonne commaunded vs / ne otherwise aske / than as he apoynted vs / for in so askyng / his goodnesse promysed we shulde optayne / what soeuer we prayed for in his name" (C1<sup>r</sup>).

when a tiny child you could never endure to be decked out in another's finery." <sup>1</sup>

Fortunately we have definite evidence which bears upon this question. Following a remark that the members of More's school exercised themselves almost daily in the Latin tongue, Stapleton informs us that they turned English into Latin and Latin into English.<sup>2</sup>

Considered in their context Stapleton's words must mean that the primary purpose of this constant practice in translation was to increase one's grasp of Latin. Quite possibly, indeed, if not probably, he wished it to be inferred that the method was one of "double translation," in which, evidently, English was first translated into Latin and then back into English. Such a method of early training in Latin grammar was advocated in the *De tradendis disciplinis* (1531) of Luis Vives,<sup>3</sup> a close friend of More's and an enthusiastic visitor at the school.<sup>4</sup> And there is also, though the question cannot be satisfactorily answered, even reason to suspect that the members of the school occasionally employed the method of double translation promulgated by Roger Ascham, who argued in *The Scholemaster* (1570) that skill in sound Latin composition could best be achieved through steady practice in turning Latin into English and then, after an interval, the English back into Latin, thus enabling a beneficial comparison between the Latin original and the Latin translation resulting from the twofold process.<sup>5</sup> About 1520 the anonymous translator of Mancinus' *De quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus* had called attention to the gain that such a comparison afforded.<sup>6</sup> But though we do not know that the practice

<sup>1</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, pp. 19 and 40. The translation is from Hallett, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Mori opera omnia*, p. 36: *Linguae Latinae exercitia erant pæne quotidiana. Anglicum in Latinum, Latina in Anglicum vertebant.*

<sup>3</sup> *Vivis opera* (Basle, 1555), I. 469: "... postquam syntaxin didicerint, reddent vulgares orationes in Latinum, & has vicissim in vulgarem sermonem.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Watson, *Luis Vives* (1922), pp. 51 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Works* (1864), ed. Giles, III. 90 (see also 169, 175 ff.). After the passage quoted in note 2 *supra* Stapleton writes: *Scripserat Thomas Morus ad Academiam Oxoniensem pro bonis literis quasi Apologiam quandam Latine. . . . Hanc per unam ex filiabus in alium Sermonem Latinum, per alteram in Anglicum conversam vidi.* Unless the second Latin version was a translation of some English version—perhaps of the one here mentioned—it is hard to see how it could have been written, since these words and their context would indicate that this Latin version was not independent of More's original letter but a variant of it.

<sup>6</sup> See F. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their Curriculum and Practice* (1908), pp. 403 ff. For the history of this kind of double translation in England see in addition *ibid.*, p. 282, and A. M. Stowe, *English Grammar Schools in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (N.Y., 1908), pp. 115 and 121, n. 119.



in More's school involved the translation and retranslation of the same English or Latin text, we can be fairly certain that Stapleton is here referring to a pedagogical exercise designed to develop a greater mastery of Latin.

Now it was in all probability because of these exercises, evidently begun at an early age, that Margaret Roper was able at nineteen to translate Erasmus' treatise and to produce a version considered worthy of being published. Perhaps, indeed, the translation was itself one of these exercises. This, however, is wholly conjectural; we know nothing definite of the motive or motives which inspired it. But why she entered upon this task is not so important as how she became so well qualified to do so. To this second question Stapleton's information provides a satisfactory answer.

It perhaps also throws some much-needed light on the other English translations of the same general period, a few of which are highly meritorious and belong to the earlier literary careers of those humanists who were to write the best original English expository prose prior to 1530. About 1505<sup>1</sup> More had translated a number of Mirandola's minor works together with the biography written by Mirandola's nephew; before 1523<sup>2</sup> Tindale had translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion militis Christiani*; and probably during the middle of the 1520's<sup>3</sup> Lupset had translated a sermon by St Chrysostom. Though these translations undoubtedly go far to account for the vernacular achievements which followed them, there remains the necessity of determining how they themselves were managed so competently. Obviously they cannot mark the preliminary stage of their authors' training in English composition, but an intermediate one which must have had behind it a sedulous apprenticeship.

This apprenticeship could not have been derived from the linguistic study still prevalent in the grammar schools and universities. English played no part whatever in the curricula of the latter. This was not strictly true of the grammar schools,<sup>4</sup> for some of the more

<sup>1</sup> See *The English Works of More*, ed. W. E. Campbell, I (1931), 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *P.M.L.A.*, XLIX (1934), pp. 461 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Just when this translation was made is unknown, but presumably it preceded the original treatises, which were written toward the end of the 1520's. See my *Life and Works of Lupset* (1928), p. 124, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> For how little importance was attached to English in early Tudor grammar schools, see esp. F. Watson, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (1909), pp. 1 ff., and G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making* (N.Y., 1928), pp. 96 ff.

recent elementary Latin grammars had been written in English or had explained the Accidence in English,<sup>1</sup> and several of the more progressive schools had commenced to use books which provided English words, phrases, and sentences to be turned into Latin.<sup>2</sup> There was as yet, however, no composition in English.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, this linguistic study stressed Latin speaking rather than Latin writing.<sup>4</sup> Exercises were largely oral,<sup>5</sup> and at the universities they were mainly directed toward aiding proficiency in Disputation.<sup>6</sup> Several factors, to be sure, among which was the increasing cheapness of paper, were tending to lessen this emphasis.<sup>7</sup> But it was still dominant, with the result that even composition in Latin received no great attention. Since, besides, the training in composition inclined more towards the practical than the literary, no great effort was devoted to the cultivation of correct and felicitous expression.<sup>8</sup>

The contemporary humanists, on the other hand, made much of written exercises. They were strongly opposed to the extemporaneous and arid wrangling of Disputation, closely connected as it was with Scholastic philosophy.<sup>9</sup> For the finished and substantial eloquence of the great orators of antiquity, however, they had great respect. They were convinced that the study of Latin should do everything possible to provide a literary as well as a more strictly utilitarian grasp of the subject. A student should early become acquainted with the "best" authors of classical and early Christian literature,<sup>10</sup> gaining profit from their manner of writing as well as from their edifying and instructive subject-matter. Enthusiastic about "good letters," the humanists emphasized literary expression, the attainment, through intensive study and painstaking practice, of a genuine Latinity which would avoid the careless, barbarous Latin of the later Middle Ages and more or less

<sup>1</sup> See Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 233 ff., 295 f.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. *The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and . . . Robert Whittinton*, ed. B. White, E.E.T.S., O.S. 187 (1932), pp. xxxvii ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the translation of English into Latin in grammar schools, and, at a somewhat later date than our period, that of Latin into English, see *ibid.*, noting esp. the quotations from Palsgrave on pp. xlv ff. See also Stowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 ff., esp. p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> See esp. *The Vulgaria of Stanbridge and Whittinton*, p. liii ff.

<sup>5</sup> See esp. J. Howard Brown, *Elizabethan Schooldays* (1933), pp. 103 f.

<sup>6</sup> See esp. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 308 f.

<sup>7</sup> See *The Vulgaria of Stanbridge and Whittinton*, p. lxi.

<sup>8</sup> See F. Watson, *The Old Grammar Schools* (1916), pp. 7 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See esp. A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915), pp. 270 f.

<sup>10</sup> See esp. J. H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet* (1909), p. 279, and my *Life and Works of Lupset*, pp. 135 f.

conform to the diction and style of these ancient and authoritative works.

Such study and practice almost inevitably demanded that use be made of the vernacular for purposes of translation.<sup>1</sup> As the anonymous translator of Mancinus declared, the whole business of grammar could best be taught through this expedient.<sup>2</sup> Instead of continuing to rehearse grammatical rules without coming in contact with the literature which determined them, students should begin with elementary syntax and, having once mastered it, study the literature critically and verify the force of rules through examining their operation.<sup>3</sup> Not only the translation of English into Latin, but that of Latin into English, would aid this grasp of sound Latin. Of the two disciplines the first was of primary importance, for it involved the actual composition of Latin. Yet it was only the second which necessitated at the very start the exact analysis of a pre-existing example of pure Latinity.<sup>4</sup> Therefore it also should be practised, whether as a separate exercise or as a component of the twofold process advocated by Ascham and others. Somewhat paradoxically, then, the insistence of the humanists upon the attainment of proficiency in sound Latin composition was what gave composition in English a firm though subsidiary place in their educational programme.

What we particularly want to know, however, is the extent to which this programme was put into practice. Because the divergence was great between what the humanists advocated and what was still in vogue in almost all the institutions of learning, there is danger of minimizing the actual influence of their ideas. But these ideas were not intended to apply so much to general education as to the private and more advanced education of a small minority

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus was opposed to employing the vernacular for pedagogical purposes. Yet he believed in learning a language by exercises in translation, and, following Quintilian, urged that the translation of Greek into Latin be made a part of the educational process. See W. H. Woodward, *Erasmus concerning Education* (1904), pp. 127, 171 f.

<sup>2</sup> Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 403 f.

<sup>3</sup> Among the many who advocated this way of studying grammar were Erasmus, Colet, and Elyot. See Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 f.; Lupton, *op. cit.*, pp. 291; *The Gouverneur* (1883), ed. H. H. S. Croft, I, 55.

<sup>4</sup> In his dedicatory preface to his translation (1540) of Gnaeus' *Acolastus*, Palsgrave pointed out how the translation of Latin into English gave pupils practice for their rules of grammar. See J. L. McCaughy, *The School Drama* (N.Y., 1913), pp. 102 ff. Brinsley in his *Ludus Literarius* (1612) discusses in detail the various steps of this drill. See Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, pp. 352 ff.

who were favoured by birth, wealth, or talent.<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, what influence these men exerted was necessarily restricted in scope. There is, however, no reason to suppose that it was not great within the limits of this restriction. The almost complete absence of any direct evidence is insignificant, for whereas the procedure in various institutions was laid down in statutes and other formal documents which have been preserved, the procedure in private education received no such recording.

We do possess, however, the information provided by Stapleton about More's school. And though probably this school was in several respects more progressive than any other in England, we may nevertheless suppose that what was broadly true of it was broadly true of other educational practice under the strong influence of the humanists. The very fact that these men were a small minority helped to unite them in a concerted movement toward a common goal.<sup>2</sup> Hence, despite the absence of any direct proof, we may consider it probable that their method of Latin instruction did not essentially differ from that found in the home of the most distinguished member of the group.

Indirectly bearing this out are the facts pertaining to another English translation of the same period, Gentien Hervet's version of Erasmus' *De immensa dei misericordia*.<sup>3</sup> Hervet was a Frenchman who had come over to England about 1521 when he was only thirteen. Yet this translation was published before March 12, 1525/6. Hervet had lived with Lupset for two years at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, afterwards joining the household of the Countess of Salisbury, to whom the translation is dedicated. Though it is not improbable that Lupset somewhat aided him in this task, it is hard to understand how this young foreigner, an avid student of the classical languages, could have acquired competence in literary English through any other means than by translating these languages into it.

Nevertheless Margaret Roper's version of Erasmus' treatise is the only one of these translations of which anything is definitely known concerning the apprenticeship underlying it. Hence it has a particular significance. Written in 1524 and published soon after,

<sup>1</sup> See Woodward, *op. cit.*, p. 83, and Watson, *The English Grammar Schools*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Life and Works of Lupset*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> For these facts see my article in *P.Q.*, xv (1936), pp. 136 ff.

it points ahead, as these others do, to the still greater achievements soon to be realized in English prose. With these translations it constitutes what may broadly be called the second stage in this development, that stage in which several of the humanists produced vernacular translations which were intended to be of use to others. But since Margaret Roper, in contrast to More, Tindale, and Lupset, did not herself advance to the third stage—that in which original vernacular prose was written and published—her translation is less important than theirs in establishing the connection between the second stage and this final one. Alone, however, in definitely having its roots in those exercises in vernacular translation which were in all probability a part of the translator's training as a student of Latin, it points back to the first stage of this development and helps to substantiate the general deduction that the English humanists were able to write English so well because they had formerly practised English composition as an aid to learning Latin.

## THE LANGUAGE OF DRAYTON'S *SHEPHEARDS GARLAND*

BY KATHLEEN TILLOTSON

THE influence of the *Shepheards Calender* is more clearly apparent in Michael Drayton's *Idea The Shepheards Garland* (1593) than in any other Elizabethan poem. It is the purpose of the present study to examine the effects of that influence in a single field—that of linguistic experiment. This has never been defined, partly, no doubt, because *S.G.* has been until recently difficult of access, and in the better-known version of 1619 the language had been normalized in revision. Previous criticism has even been misleading; for example Dr. Elton says that Drayton “turns away from the shepherd dialect” (*Michael Drayton*, 1905, p. 32) and the Cambridge History that he “almost entirely avoids the archaisms in which Spenser rejoiced” (Vol. IV, p. 171).

Drayton is the first pastoralist to imitate Spenser in this respect; the only apparent exception is Peele, in his *Eclogue Gratulatorie* (1590), and he is content with a superficial peppering of Spenserian archaisms (*couth, gar, moughten, sike, thilke*), casually combined with most unrustical rhetoric. Drayton, on the other hand, is at least intermittently aiming at rustic naturalism; he has paid Spenser the compliment not only of direct imitation but of understanding what he was trying to do and why; and he has gone on his own account to Spenser's two main sources—Chaucer and contemporary rustic dialect. It was not solely the pastoral form that impelled him to this; in his one previous publication, the scriptural paraphrases of *Harmonie of the Church* (1591), there appear (with no warrant in their contexts in any version of the Bible) the dialect words *chyer* (blade of grass) and *laire* (face, hue), the Spenserian *can* (= gan) as an auxiliary, *tho* in its Middle English sense of *then, every del*, and the useful prop-word *wight*. Drayton otherwise follows the Bible (usually the Geneva version) with such laborious fidelity that the direction of these departures may have some significance; and in his



work as a whole the number of dialect words is comparatively high. But in *S.G.* the "artificial elements" (to borrow Herford's inclusive term) are strikingly frequent. They are used on the whole with discrimination and responsibility. They generally appear when the shepherds are talking realistically—when they are shepherds, with "tikes" and "little elvish moping lambs," turning a crab over the fire with "Jone"; and not mere mouthpieces for panegyric, elegy, or Petrarchan sonnet-sentiment. The "artificial" elements appear in association with proverbs and colloquial idiom; and also, of course, where a phrase or idea is being borrowed from Spenser. And they are deliberately crowded in the *Ballad of Dowsabel* in the 8th eclogue, where the stanza of *Sir Thopas* is used and the tale itself referred to and quoted—though the substance is no mock-romance but a realistic if toy-like rustic love-story. In spite of the rather abrupt forsaking of Chaucerian language in the second half of the ballad, it remains Drayton's most successful linguistic experiment; and here it is the infection of Spenser's own buoyant narratives in February and May, rather than any detailed imitation, that constitutes the "influence."

No classification of the "artificial elements" can, of course, be watertight; archaisms and dialectisms are not mutually exclusive classes, and even with wide reading and the *N.E.D.* as court of appeal it is not always possible to recapture the aura of a word or form in the time of Spenser and Drayton. But in this instance we have two useful additional pointers to "olde and obsolete words"—the existence of a gloss by E. K. and the revision by Drayton in 1606. Drayton has no epistle or preface defending his practice or stating his principles; but an examination of the vocabulary of *S.G.* shows that he has, one might almost say deliberately, applied Puttenham's advice in reverse:

... neither shall he follow the speach of a craftes man or carter . . . (he) shall not follow *Piers Plowman* nor *Gower* nor *Lydgate* nor yet *Chaucer*, for their language is now out of use with us: neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men . . . nor in effect any speach used beyond the river of Trent.<sup>1</sup>

In what follows the references are to *S.G.* in the Shakespeare Head Press edition (vol. 1) and to *S.C.* in C. H. Herford's edition. The addition of (*D.*) means that the word occurs in the *Ballad of Dowsabel*.

<sup>1</sup> *Arte*, III. 4, "Of Language."

The number of archaic inflexions and forms is much less in Drayton than in Spenser; and these archaisms show less variety, both of type and source. Almost all are derived from Spenser himself. They are, to begin with, practically confined to verb-forms, the most frequent being the *Pres. Pl. in -en* (the old E.Mid. form, which according to Jonson was used "till about the reign of Henry VIII"); the following is a full list:

*Weepen* 2.129, *sacrifizen* 5.99, *layne* 7.13, *minsen* 7.14, *fishen* 7.15, *liven* 7.28, *spenden* 7.51, *reachen* 8.17, *herien* 8.56, *sleepen* 8.61, *sitten* 8.246, *meeten* 8.248.

The form *done* for *do* occurs very frequently.

An infinitive in *-en* appears once: *blazen* 5.64. In the verb "to be," the *Pres. Indic. Pl. been* for "are" is the only archaism; this occurs over twenty times.

The *Past Participle comen* 1.5, 4.19 (*becom'n*), 4.22, is the only instance of an archaic *-n*, and the prefix <sup>1</sup> *y-* (*i-*, *e-*) is practically confined to weak verbs:

*Ecleepd* 4(3), *Iclad* 4.59, *Idy'd* 5.110, *yswadled* 6.47, *ycouped* 7.87, *ystong* 7.120, *ycond* 8.133 (*D.*), *ywrought* 8.146 (*D.*), *ymounted* 9.89.

There is one instance of the *y-* prefix for a *Pres. Participle*: *ypicking* 8.160 (*D.*)

With these may be classed the form *ylíke*, which Drayton uses once, in 8.145 (*D.*); it was a M.E. form (O.E. *gelíc*) revived by Spenser.

There are instances, in (*D.*) only, of the M.E. and Spenserian *mought* 8.174 (really part of a borrowed line—July 129) and *couth* 8.135, 138. The *past sing.* form *slaw* 8.176 is never used by Spenser; Drayton has caught it from *Sir Thopas* 2016 (where it is a past participle). Also in (*D.*) he sometimes uses verb-forms which represent the less common of two alternatives, as *ware* (*wore*) 8.141, *hong* (*hung*) 8.184, *blist* (*blessed*) 8.242; all can be paralleled in Spenser.

Northern dialect forms of current words are represented in

<sup>1</sup> E. K. glosses *y-* forms in Apr. 155, May 6, saying that the *y-* is "a poetical addition" or that it "redoundeth." Puttenham (*Arte*, III. xi) gives "*I-doen*, for *doon*" and "*remembren*" for "*remember*" in his examples of "figures of addition." These, then, are perhaps archaisms by coincidence rather than intention.

sike (such) 7.118, *mickle* 8.118, 8.134 (D.), *leyre* 8.133 (D.), *kirke* 8.140 (D.). These are all in Spenser, and are glossed by E. K. The West Midland dialect is represented in *hull* for hill (O.E. *hyll*), which appears, rhymed with *wooll*, in 8.151 (D.). As this was a possible form in Derbyshire, it may be guessed that "white as snow on peakish hull" is a proverb which Drayton has reproduced in its native dialect. (It was also a Warwickshire form, as in the place-name Solihull.)

Drayton does not use archaic constructions except for two minor instances in (D.), where he has overreached himself by combining reminiscences of more than one construction; in *he him list* 8.165 he combines the impersonal and personal constructions (both found in Spenser, the former being commoner in S.C.), having perhaps mistaken *him* for a reflexive; in *lever I were dead* 8.225 the adverbial use of *lever* in "I would lever . . ." is combined with the verb of the earlier construction "me were lever" (the adverbial construction is not found in Spenser).

In turning to "Spenserian" elements in the vocabulary proper, we find Drayton using many words from S.C. The first list gives only words glossed by E. K.; these include old words, or old meanings revived by Spenser, dialect words, and current words used in a new sense. Often the word passed into general usage; but not many of these words seem to have been used, save by Spenser himself, between 1579 and 1593.

The reference to S.C. is given in each case, and E. K.'s gloss quoted.

- Accloy* (-eth, -ed), Feb. 135 ("encombreth"), 4.41.  
*Accoied, Acoyed*, Feb. 47 ("plucked down and daunted"), 7.48.  
*Betide, Betight* (p. pt.), Nov. 174 ("happened"), 4.7.  
*Blancket*,<sup>1</sup> May 5 (blonket liveries, "gray coates"), 7.13.  
*Couth*, Jan. 10 ("Conne . . . to knowe, or to have skill"), 8.135 (D.)  
*Dapper*,<sup>2</sup> Oct. 13 ("pretye"), 3.10.  
*Deffly, Defily*, April 111 ("finely and nimbly"), 8.65.  
*Dight*, Apr. 29 ("adorned"), 5.66, 7.98.  
*Dreriment*,<sup>3</sup> Nov. 36 ("dreery and heavy cheere") 2.111.  
*Eld*,<sup>4</sup> Feb. 49, etc. ("old age"), 2.38, etc.

<sup>1</sup> "A white or undyed woollen cloth," N.E.D. 1. Sense not recorded there after fifteenth century. But see also N.E.D., s.v. *Blancket*.

<sup>2</sup> Before 1579 used only of persons.

<sup>3</sup> Spenser's coinage.

<sup>4</sup> The need for a gloss is not apparent. But Drayton always removed the word in revision.

- Forlorne*,<sup>1</sup> April 4 ("left and forsaken"), 1.24, 4.28.  
*For-ty*, Mar. 37 ("therefore"), 4.31.  
*Glee*, Feb. 224 ("chere and jolitie"), Dec. 139 ("mirth") 3.36, 8.18 (D.), 164 (D.).  
*Hery* (vb.), Nov. 13 ("honour") 6.72.  
*Ifeere*, *Yfere*, Apr. 68 ("together"), 3. (1).  
*Kirke*,<sup>2</sup> May 12 ("church"), 8.140 (D.).  
*Laye* (sb.), Apr. 133 ("a song"), 1.12, etc.  
*Lere*, *Leyre* (sb.),<sup>3</sup> May 262 ("lesson"), 8.133.  
*Leven*, -in, July 91, Aug. 87 ("lightning"), 3.88.  
*Lorrell*, July 93 ("a losell"), 3.27.  
*Lythe*, Feb. 74 ("soft and gentle"), 8.149.  
*Meriment*,<sup>4</sup> Apr. 112 ("mirth"), 9.48.  
*Mickle*,<sup>5</sup> July 18 ("much"), 8.118.  
*Mister*, July 201 ("kinde of"), Sept. 103 ("maner"), 7.45.  
*Peere(s)*, June 35 ("equales and felow shepheards"), 4.4.  
*Pend*, *Pent*, Oct. 72 ("shut up in slouth, as in a coope or cage"), 8.20.  
*Sere*, Jan. 37 ("withered"), 2.64.  
*Sourse*, May 130 ("welspring and originall"), 4.121.  
*Spell*,<sup>6</sup> Mar. 54 ("... verse or charme . . ."), 8.33 etc.  
*Stour*,<sup>7</sup> Jan. 51 ("a fitt"), 8.107.  
*Swain*, Mar. 79 ("a boy"),<sup>8</sup>  
*Tressed*, April 12 ("wrethed and curled"), 2.98.  
*Vetchie*, *Vechie*,<sup>9</sup> Sept. 256 ("of pease straw"), 9.95.  
*Virelaye*, Nov. 21 ("a light kind of song"), 3.10.  
*Welked*,<sup>10</sup> Nov. 13 ("shortened or empayred"), 5.69, 9.9.  
*Welkin*, Mar. 12 ("the skie"), 1.5, 2.126.  
*Whilome*, Aug. 8 ("once"), Sept. 4 ("sometime"), 4.88, etc.  
*Wone*, *Wonned*, Sept. 184 ("haunt"), 6.56, 8.124.  
*Yclad*, May 6 ("arrayed"), 4.59.

<sup>1</sup> Drayton's sense is rather "wretched, miserable," in *N.E.D.* first recorded 1582.

<sup>2</sup> A Northernism; *N.E.D.* gives (in sixteenth century), instances only from Northern writers.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly a Northern form of O.E. *lār* (cf. *lore*); possibly from the verb *læran*. *N.E.D.* (*Lear*<sup>1</sup>) records it in 1586 and 1594.

<sup>4</sup> First recorded 1576.

<sup>5</sup> A Northernism which became common in literature for a time; several instances in Shakespeare.

<sup>6</sup> This is a new sense, and Drayton uses the word with an adjective—"magic," "night-charming"—which implies the old sense as well.

<sup>7</sup> Originally "fight, attack"; Spenser means rather "a time of stress or turmoil." Drayton probably intends the original sense, but his phrase "stormy stours" shows that he is recalling *S.C.* Cf. Chaucer, *Mk. T.*, 380, "starke stoures."

<sup>8</sup> In "shepheards swaine" (common in both poets) the original sense of "attendant" is perhaps preserved. The sense of "shepherd" is found first in Gosson (1579) and became common only after 1590.

<sup>9</sup> Spenser's coinage and not elsewhere used. *N.E.D.* has missed Drayton's use.

<sup>10</sup> "Faded, dimmed" is the usual sense.

Certain words where the sense has been changed or misunderstood are noted separately below :

*Areede* : In 4.9, "Or else some Romant unto us areed," Drayton has adopted Spenser's sense of "recite," used in Aug. 146; this sense is not recorded for *Areed* in *N.E.D.*, but may be compared with *Read*, Senses 14 and 21. (E. K. does not gloss this word.)

*Forthy* : In 4.31, "And vow'st for thy? a solemne pilgrimage," the mark of interrogation (if it is not a printer's error) would imply that Drayton misunderstood the word and intended the meaning "wherefore?"

*Welked* : In 5.69, 9.9 ("that hie welked tower") no sense of *Welk* or *Whelk* fits the context. It is clear, I think, that both here and in *Barons Wars*, VI. 39 (which is given under "faded, dulled in lustre" in *N.E.D.*), Drayton has taken "welked" as meaning vaguely "up in the welkin." Both *Welk* and *Welkin* were sufficiently rare to make such confusion easy.

*Ycond* : In 8.133-4 (D.), "Full well she was ycond the leyre Of mickle curtesie," Drayton is, as so often, recalling a phrase from *S.C.* : "Tho he, that had well ycond his lere." But the construction with "was" shows that he intends "ycond" to mean not "learnt" but "taught"; and this is confirmed by his other use of the phrase in *Polyolbion*, XII. 206 : "In many secret skills she had been cond her lere." This sense is found in no other writer.

There are many other words characteristic of Spenser and used by Drayton in *S.G.*; but as some of these do not appear in *S.C.* and others appear without a gloss, it is not easy to be sure how "artificial" they were. Of this elastic category only specimens are given below :

*Amate*, *Bourd*, *Bragging*, *Beseeme*, *Crancke*,<sup>1</sup> *Darkesome*, *Forspent*, *Gladsome*, (in) *Gree*, *Habergeon*, *Jollie*, *Lustihed*, *Paramour*, *Roundelay*, *Wamenting*, *Weene*.

Apart from the general Chaucerian influence on the language of both poets, there are several passages where particular lines in Chaucer are recalled; and the reproduction of these often involves the revival of old words. The clearest instance of such reproduction is the "little heardgroomes" of Feb. 35 (cf. *Hous of Fame*, III. 135-6). Drayton took up the phrase in 8.23; it became a pastoral cliché, appearing in the Cuddy Eclogue in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, 1608, and in Phineas Fletcher. Again, Drayton has the lines :

What I am young, a goodly Batcheler,  
And must live like the lustie limmeter (7.83-4)

<sup>1</sup> The context shows that this is certainly from *S.C.*; 8.163 (D.), cf. Sept. 46. The word is not uncommon, but the quasi-adverbial use is originated by Spenser.

combining memories of Chaucer's Squire and Friar.<sup>1</sup> And in 8.55 the line "Tun'd to the sound of those aye-crouding spears" carries an archaic sense of *crowd*, derived from :

O firste moevyng, cruel firmament  
With thy diurnal sweigh that croudest ay . . .  
(*Man of Lawe's Tale*, 295-6).<sup>2</sup>

There are many other direct reminiscences of Chaucer in *S.G.*, some of which have never been noted (two only are given in Spurgeon, *Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*); for example, 7.108-114 borrows from the song in the *Prologue to Legend of Good Women*,<sup>3</sup> and *Dowdsabel* is thick with tags from *Sir Thopas*, such as "in battell and in tournament," "fayre and free," "so mery as the Poppingay," "in love-longing fell." Many of these do not involve archaisms of form or of vocabulary; but there is enough to show that Drayton, like Spenser, wishes to appear as a disciple of Chaucer<sup>4</sup> and that he is not merely getting his Chaucer at second-hand from *S.C.* There are a few words which may have been revived from Chaucer by Drayton independently of Spenser: *featuously*<sup>5</sup> (8.146) is one, possibly *draffe*<sup>6</sup> (6.14) and the oath *by my hood*.<sup>6</sup> His sense for *coy* (7.43) is Chaucer's and not Spenser's; no later writer has this sense. But many Chaucerian words now obsolete, such as *elvish* (= peevish), *fell*, *fere*, *unsitting*, were fairly common Elizabethan English. A rare form is seen in *romant* (4.37, 5.127) hardly recorded except in the title of *The Romaunt of the Rose*.

Those "artificial elements" in the vocabulary of *S.G.* which cannot be derived from either Chaucer or Spenser or both are not considerable; but Drayton's use, in particular, of words surviving even now in Northern or Midland dialects and apparently not in current contemporary use is suggestive. Spenser had made direct

<sup>1</sup> The reference to disguise as "a Pilgrim or a limitour" in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 85, perhaps also recalls Chaucer.

<sup>2</sup> The parallel does, I think, remove the possibility of a derivation from *crowd* (a fiddle), suggested by Collier (*Poems*, 1856, p. 142), but his note is worth recording.

<sup>3</sup> Its other title "*the Seintes Legende of Cupide*" (cf. *Prol.*, *M.L.T.*) is referred to in 7.114—"And been canoniz'd in Loves Calendere."

<sup>4</sup> In 4, Gorbio invites Winken—whom he has jocularly addressed as "that old *Wynkin de word*"—to tell some "Romant" "which good olde *Godfrey* taught thee in thy youth." (The correction of *Godfrey* to *Geffrey* in the B.M. copy is one of Payne Collier's forged annotations.) I think that Chaucer was intended; the line recalls "Which I cond of *Tityrus* in my youth" in Feb. 92. The reference, like most of the Chaucer parallels, was removed by Drayton in revision.

<sup>5</sup> Not used by Spenser before 1596 (*Prothalamion*, 27).

<sup>6</sup> Both used by Shakespeare.



use of a regional dialect which he knew, as an aid to rustic naturalism and a short cut to archaism ("olde and obsolete wordes are most used of country folke") and Drayton, whether consciously or not, has grasped and applied his principle. The words of this class that I have noted are mainly rustic in character; none of them appears in Chaucer or Spenser, and those in the first list are almost certainly dialectal:

*Bauzen*<sup>1</sup> (a badger), 8.180. *Crouse*<sup>2</sup> (playful), 7.74. *Lear*<sup>3</sup> (to teach), 8.165. *Lingell*<sup>4</sup> (shoemaker's thread), 8.183. *Loke*<sup>5</sup> (short pieces of wool), 8.178. *Miskins*<sup>6</sup> (little bagpipes), 2.5. *Ranpick*<sup>7</sup> (partly decayed, of a tree), 1.23. *Sale*<sup>8</sup> (good fortune), 2.52.

The following may be dialect words, but are used by other Elizabethan writers besides Drayton:

*Camock* (crooked stick) 2.45, 7.63. *Cullion* (rascal) 6.13. *Knurrie* (knotted) 2.58. *Tike* (dog) 8.250. *Yean* (to bring forth young, of a ewe) 3.129. (*Camock* and *Knurrie* were removed in revision.)

*Laund* (a glade) 1.7, which is used by Chaucer and once (after 1593) by Spenser, but otherwise only by Shakespeare (*N.E.D.*), may have been a dialect form; the later form *lawn* was substituted by Drayton in revision.

*Lourdayn* (a rascal) 9.39 is M.E., but not in Chaucer; the *N.E.D.* gives one other Elizabethan instance; but cf. Spenser's *loord* (July 33) and its gloss, and *lurdan* in Northern dialects.

One or two words in *S.G.* are recorded there for the first time. They are *carowlet* (7.160), *miskins* (2.5; see list above), and *nonino*<sup>9</sup> (3.7). Drayton appears to be the first writer to use *sun-set* (1.75)

<sup>1</sup> Still in Warwickshire dialect.

<sup>2</sup> Only in Northern writers before Drayton.

<sup>3</sup> Only in Northern writers.

<sup>4</sup> I take this sense, the only one which fits the line ("His aule and lingell in a thong") from the *Eng. Dial. Dic.*, where the word is given as Northern dialect. The usual sixteenth-century sense was "thong."

<sup>5</sup> The context supports identification with *lock* in this sense, which is not recorded between 1523 and 1640. The only alternative explanation is a misunderstanding or misreading of Sir Thopas's "cloth of lake."

<sup>6</sup> Used only by Drayton, and glossed in 1619.

<sup>7</sup> Used only by Drayton and later Barnefield; glossed in 1619. Still in Warwickshire dialect.

<sup>8</sup> *Sele*, a Scottish dialect word, not recorded between 1513 and 1668.

<sup>9</sup> The second sense of "trifle" seems preferable in the context; this is not otherwise recorded until 1681. The *N.E.D.* gives for Drayton's sense simply "Used as a refrain."

as an adjective and the only one to use *combust* (2.110) as a noun. He has a new sense for *frolicke* as an adjective, in 8.141,<sup>1</sup> "she wore a frock of frolicke greene." The word *Harlocke* in 8.156 (D.) is recorded only here, but should probably be considered as a dialect form of *charlock*; it is given in the *Eng. Dial. Dic.* as Essex dialect. The *N.E.D.* is wrong in stating that *charlock* does not bloom in May, and was unlikely to be used in decoration; it was very likely—for *Dowsabel*.

A few examples of colloquial idioms now extinct, and sparsely recorded, may be noted. The shepherd in *Dowsabel* "pyp'd a good," that is, "*agood*"—heartily. (Cf. Shakespeare, *Two Gent.*, iv, iv. 170.) Motto (5.184) has the line "And wealth with me was never yet affloat"; this must represent *at float*, at high water (*N.E.D.*, s.v. *Float*, sb., 2). In 7.50, "take them to the mantle and the ring" (*i.e.* to take a vow of chastity) is a late instance of this phrase; it is not recorded after 1574 in *N.E.D.* (s.v. *Mantle*). The 7th eclogue especially is full of proverbs and proverbial phrases.

Many of the "artificial elements" disappeared in Drayton's revisions of his eclogues in 1606 (*Poemes Lyrick and pastorall*) and 1619.<sup>2</sup> For instance, all the participles in *y-* were removed except in (D.); so were such Spenserisms as *welkin* and *whylome*; all the coinages; and most of the Northern forms. We find *ranpick* and *miskins* provided with marginal glosses; *gloomy* is substituted for *darkesome*, *declining* for *camock-bended*, *knotty aged* for *knurrie-bulked*, *shut up* for *ycouped*, and (oddly) *a substantiall rime* for *a carowlet in rime*. But it is not possible to be sure that the removal was systematic, for often the revision has been so radical that line-for-line correspondences disappear; and often a word strange to E. K. and perhaps still strange in 1593 is earning its keep by 1606. It is, moreover, clear that in two sections the intention was to preserve a proportion of archaisms. *Dowsabel*<sup>3</sup> is the only passage in the whole collection to be untouched by the revising hand, and the surrounding dialogue has been incompletely normalized.<sup>4</sup> In the 7th eclogue much of the rusticity is preserved, and even in one instance extended, *liest* in 7.17 becoming *lig'st* in revision. (*Liggen* is glossed by E. K. in May 217.) But here one of the speakers is Borrill, who appears

<sup>1</sup> I would suggest the meaning "festive": cf. *frolic*, sb., "A party" (from 1645).

<sup>2</sup> The main lines of this revision were complete in 1606, but some of the marginal glosses were not added until 1619.

<sup>3</sup> Eclogue 4 in 1606, 1619; 8 in *S.G.*

<sup>4</sup> For instance, of the seven verb-forms in *-en* five are altered and two remain.

nowhere else, and whose name (*borel*, rustic, rude ; cf. July 95 and gloss) may be taken as a pointer. These passages stand out in clearer relief against the background of normalized diction ; apart from them, the general impression, confirmed by a detailed comparison, is that the mantle of Colin has been shed. This revision is in line with all the stylistic revision—and it is very extensive—undertaken by Drayton from about 1602 onwards. Not that he forgot or repudiated Spenser ; there are additional parallels with *S.C.*, though not affecting the language, in the revised pastorals ; and in 1619 he saluted the *Calender* as “ a Master-piece if any.” But to see him imitating his master both in detail of vocabulary and in implied principles it is to the *Shepheards Garland* of 1593 that we must go.

## ROBERT TOFTE

BY FRANKLIN B. WILLIAMS, JR.

### I

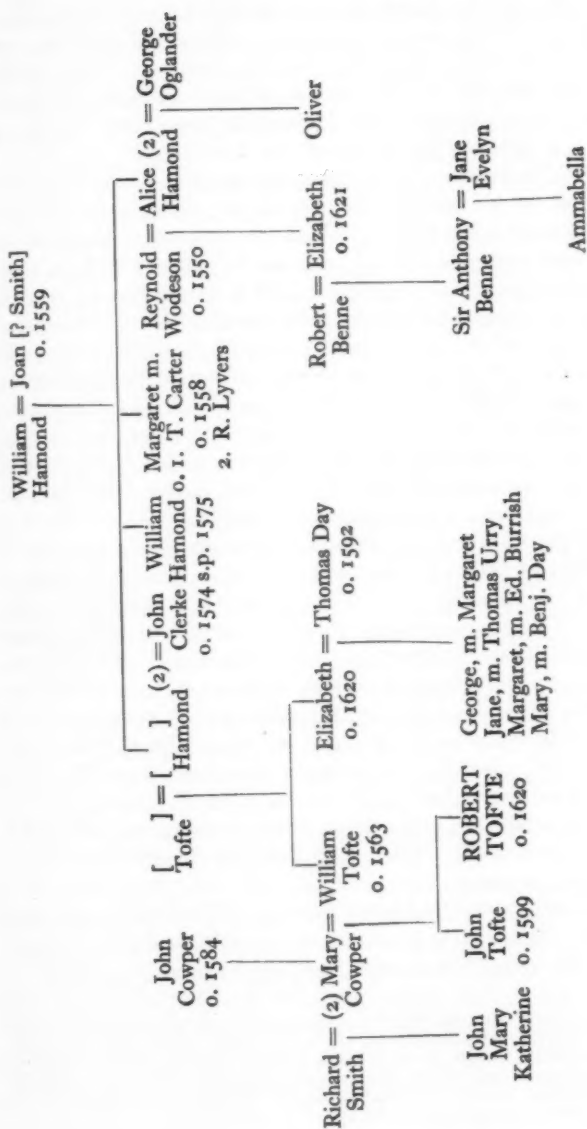
ROBERT TOFTE holds his place among the minor Elizabethans as the author of two volumes of verse—one containing the earliest allusion to *Love's Labour's Lost*—as the translator of a series of books from Italian and French, and as a commentator on other writers of his age. He stumbled into the main currents of literary history when one of his pamphlets was burned in 1599 by authorities intent on suppressing satire. Research in Tofte's life seems not to have advanced since the record of his burial and his will were published by Dr. Grosart in 1880. The present article will outline his life and survey his published and unpublished works.

The origin of the poet's family is obscure, and I have been unable to derive it from the Toftes of Staffordshire, Cheshire, Northamptonshire, or Lincolnshire. The "Coate or Armes" mentioned in Robert Tofte's will is now unknown.<sup>1</sup> From the first the poet's relatives are associated with the neighbourhood of Guildford, Surrey. Since Toftes again come to notice in Godalming about 1650 in the cloth industry, and somewhat later in the notorious person of Mary Toft the Rabbit Woman, it may be conjectured that they were a yeoman family of the vicinity. The marriage alliances of the poet's family were complicated and difficult to trace. For clarity and brevity I have provided a severely abridged chart, based chiefly on wills.<sup>2</sup>

The poet's grandfather, Christian name unknown, married a daughter of William Hamond "the elder" of Guildford, woollen

<sup>1</sup> Compare "My COTE so true" in *Alba*, sig. D2.

<sup>2</sup> The more important wills at Somerset House, with the dates of probate in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, are: Robert Tofte, 1620, 3 *Soame*; John Tofte, 1599, 55 *Kidd*; William Tofte, 1563, 36 *Chayre*; John Cowper, 1584, 23 *Watson*; Robert Carter, 1564, 6 *Stevenson*; Thomas Carter, 1558, 48 *Noodes*; Joan Hamond, 1559, 38 *Welles*; William Hamond, 1575, 19 *Pychering*; Elizabeth Day, 1620, 70 *Soame*. The will of Thomas Day, 1592, is registered at Chichester, but I used the copy at the Public Record Office in *State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, CCXLI*. 119.



ABRIDGED GENEALOGY OF ROBERT TOFTE

draper. By 1556 his widow had married John Clerke of Farnham. The will of Tofte's mother-in-law, Joan Hamond, made in 1556 and proved in 1559, names his children, giving to "euery childe of my said doughter Clerke Scilicet William Tofte and Elizabeth Tofte xx<sup>li</sup> of like money. Item I giue vnto Jone Tofte now the wif [blank] <sup>1</sup> xx<sup>li</sup> which xx<sup>li</sup> I haue paied vnto her. . . ."

William Tofte, the poet's father, went up to London and was apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Carter, fishmonger. William was thus settled in the parish of St. Magnus Martyr in Bridge Ward. When Carter made his will in 1556 he provided for "Willyam Tofte myne apprentyce ffourty shillinges, and I release him of as many yeares of his apprentyzode as he hathe to serue aboue y<sup>e</sup> number of Seauen yeares, And I will y<sup>t</sup> he be made ffree as sone as he hathe serued the full Tearme of Seauen yeares." The enterprising William was apparently made free of the Fishmongers' Company soon after Carter's death in 1558, and he increased his fortunes by marrying the daughter of the leading citizen of the parish, John Cowper "the elder," fishmonger and alderman for Bridge Ward Without from 1558 to 1567. The destruction in the Great Fire of the early records of the Fishmongers' Company seriously hampers a study of the activities of William Tofte and his sons. Record is preserved of Tofte's participation in May, 1563, in the transfer of the title of Robert Carter's property in Magnus parish, the White Lion.<sup>2</sup> Tofte's career was cut short by death later in the same year, at a time when, to judge from the parish register, the plague was prevalent. He made his will on September 2, and the unpublished register of St. Magnus reports that on September 5 "was — Tofte buried." Tofte's exceptionally uninformative will, which was proved on September 14, divides his goods in halves, one to his wife and executrix Mary, the other to his children, who are neither named nor numbered. Tofte designated his father-in-law, Alderman Cowper, overseer.

The date of the birth of John, the elder of Tofte's two sons, does not appear. Robert, the poet, was born in December or January, 1561/2. The unpublished register of St. Magnus reports that on

<sup>1</sup> Joan (omitted from the chart) was apparently a second daughter. There is reason to believe that her husband was Robert Carter, fishmonger and nephew of Thomas Carter. Before his death on November 11, 1563, Robert Carter had married as his second wife Joan, daughter of Nicholas Birch.

<sup>2</sup> S. J. Madge, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones post Mortem for the City of London* (London: Index Library, 1896-1908), ii, 20.



January 15, 1561/2 "Was Robord sonne of M<sup>r</sup> Tofte baptised." No account of the orphans' estate is to be found in the corporation records at the Guildhall. After the death of her husband Mary Tofte, with her two sons, probably returned to the household of her father, Alderman Cowper. In the subsidy roll of 5 Elizabeth at the Public Record Office the list for Magnus parish is headed by Alderman Cowper with an assessment of £20 on an annual income of £400. Robert Lyvers, who had married the widow of Thomas Carter, Tofte's old master, was assessed half as much. Meanwhile Tofte's sister Elizabeth had married Thomas Day of Bosham, Sussex, and there is no evidence that he maintained a residence in London. Elizabeth Day was to reach a great old age, even to survive her nephew Robert Tofte by a few months.

Alderman Cowper removed from Magnus parish in 1567, and some time thereafter the widow Mary Tofte married one Richard Smith. In succeeding years three children were born, John, Mary, and Katherine. Smith was a poor business man, and to the displeasure of thrifty Alderman Cowper, he became heavily indebted. During these years of their youth no mention appears of the brothers John and Robert Tofte. The poet's education remains a mystery, and no one of the name appears at either university. The loss of the Fishmongers' records makes it impossible to determine whether he was made free of the Company; there is no evidence that he participated in its activities.

A most puzzling scrap of information now appears. The register of St. Magnus records that on November 18, 1582, "Were Robert Tofte and Brygget Redwood maryed." Nowhere else does it appear that the poet Tofte married; to the contrary, he wrote many years later:

Maides must be seene, not heard, or selde or neuer,  
O may I such one wed, if I, wed euer.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that this Robert Tofte was another person, perhaps a kinsman. I have failed to trace Brygget Redwood. If she married the poet Tofte, it is clear that she died soon after, childless.

Alderman Cowper spent his last days in Bishopsgate Street, probably in the parish of St. Ethelburga. He signed his careful will on August 4, 1584, and on August 19 he was buried in St. Magnus Church. The day before the funeral the poet Robert Tofte, joint executor with his elder brother John, proved the will in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Blazon of Jealousie*, 1615, p. 27.

Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The interesting document was drawn with the special intention of keeping Cowper's money out of the hands of his son-in-law Smith and Smith's creditors. Smith is granted £100 over five years, and elaborate provision is made that he obtain no more. Cowper gave £200 to each of his daughter's five children, and his real property went equally to her three sons, John and Robert Tofte and John Smith.

About this time the poet's brother, John Tofte, was involved in litigation over part of the Hamond inheritance, the manor of Apps Court at Walton-upon-Thames. Some details of the tangled affair may be gleaned from undated pleadings in Chancery<sup>1</sup> during the chancellorship of Sir Thomas Bromley (1579-1587). The manor had been bequeathed by William Hamond the younger to his sisters, Mrs. Margaret Lyvers and Mrs. Alice Oglander. In 1575 Mrs. Lyvers deeded the reversion of her moiety to her nephews John Tofte and Oliver Oglander. When her title was contested, Mrs. Lyvers arranged with her nephew Robert Benne of London, ironmonger, that he should inherit the property if he would defend the title. Benne won a costly victory after actions in Star Chamber and Chancery, and Tofte resigned his interest to him for £120.

Robert Tofte's travels on the Continent furnish the next biographical facts. How early his journeys began is not clear; I have been unable to find a travel licence or other documentary material. There is no indication that his travels had any motive beyond an Elizabethan gentleman's fashionable desire to see France and Italy. Indeed, one searches in vain for evidence that Tofte ever engaged in any business or held any office. He always appears as a "gentleman," and his books were published as "By R.T. Gentleman."

Tofte spent a considerable time in France, although his movements cannot be traced. He learned the language with such thoroughness and adopted the manners with such facility, that when he went to Italy, if the evidence may be so interpreted, he was able to pass as a Frenchman. Certainly he was able to translate French with as much ease as Italian. Perhaps it was in Paris that he met Henry Constable and Thomas Watson, whom he later claimed as acquaintances. He may have attended a university. A single document affords relief from a mass of conjecture. The Declared Accounts report the following payment:

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C 2 Elizabeth, L 9/47.

To Roberte Tafte gentleman vppon a warraunte signed by the Lorde Threasurer dated at Windsore Castle xxiiij<sup>th</sup> Octobris 1590 for careinge of lettres concerninge her maiesties specyall seruice to Sir Edwarde Stafforde knyghte her maiesties Ambassador in ffrance—xv<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

The spelling *Tafte* is the only obstacle to identifying Tofte with the messenger, who appears only on this occasion. But Tofte seems to have signed his name *R. Tafte* in at least one instance, in annotating a volume of Chaucer which will be mentioned later. There is no reason to doubt, then, that the English gentleman Robert Tofte, travelling to Paris, was intrusted with official dispatches. If the identification is granted, it is clear that Tofte enjoyed the confidence of the English government, that he was not a fugitive for religious or political reasons. The document provides 1590 as the latest date for Tofte's going to France; it is not improbable that he had been to Paris before.

The only Italian journey which Tofte is known to have made may be precisely dated, with the assistance of a lawsuit to be described presently, between March, 1591, and June, 1594. The poet spent approximately three years in Italy and on his way there from London. Among the Englishmen whom he met was Sir Edward Dymoke, hereditary champion to Queen Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup> In dedicating *The Blazon of Iealousie* to his "honourable friend" Sir Edward Dymoke, Tofte recalls that "not my selfe alone, but diuers other Gentlemen, as well English as Strangers, were beholding for the kinde Entertainment you gaue vs at our being in Italy together." Samuel Daniel was in Italy with Dymoke, and Tofte may have made his acquaintance. Dymoke and Daniel visited the poet Giovanni Battista Guarini together.

The most interesting light on Tofte's Italian years is found in his manuscript *Discourse of the five laste Popes*. It is evident that Tofte drew largely on his own experience. A keen observer, he was interested in antiquities, in libraries, and in the literary interests and pretensions of public men. Certainly he had visited some of the Roman palaces which he described with zest. He recorded the biting libels posted at "Pasquins statue or picture," and he tuned his ear to "the common sayeing." He viewed public events and

<sup>1</sup> At the Record Office, E 351/542, membrane 154. The spelling *Tafte* is confirmed by the Audit Office duplicate copy, A.O. 1/385, roll 29.

<sup>2</sup> Dymoke's trip to Italy may be dated between March, 1590, and February, 1592. The scattered evidence is assembled by Dr. Mark Eccles in an article on Samuel Daniel in *Studies in Philology* for April, 1937.

listened to private gossip. The personal allusions in the volume are disappointingly few. Tofte remarks that he was in Rome in June, 1593.<sup>1</sup> In his sketch of the life of the Cardinal Ascanio Colonna he has a meaty note :

This Man is Doctor of Lawe, and hathe a verie fayre Librarie in his House, adorned with manie excellent good Bookes of most Languages in the Worlde. which place it was my fortune in the companie of other Frenche Gentlemen to see, where amongst other his Antiquities I chaunced to spie an auncient Cronicle in Englishe called *Fructus Temporum* begynninge with the Creation of the Worlde, and endinge att the Raigne of Henrye the sixt ; Kinge of Englande.<sup>2</sup>

After his brief account of the shrine at Loreto Tofte has inserted an interesting original document, with an explanation and a translation. The document is a certificate of health issued to Tofte and two companions as they were leaving Loreto. Tofte explains that such certificates of freedom from the plague were necessary to insure a good reception at the next town visited. The printed slip bears a small woodcut of the *Santa Casa* and, apparently, the arms of the ecclesiastical ordinary. The date and names, here italicized, are written in.

Si partono hoggi di questo santo luogo di Loreto gl'infrascritti di mano de'nostri Deputati, doue per gratia di Dio & della Gloriosissima Vergine si viue senza alcun sospetto di peste, &c. In fede &c. di Loreto, il di di *Februro* 27. 1594

*Ruberto Tofte*  
*Marco Antonio Disciama* } *Francesi*  
*Niccolo di Nuoua villa*

*Francesco Bensone Gou<sup>re</sup> di Loreto* <sup>3</sup>

Tofte here appears as a Frenchman, and in the previous quotation he mentions a visit "in the companie of other Frenche Gentlemen." There is no evidence that the Toftes were a Huguenot family. In Catholic Italy Tofte may have considered it discreet at times to travel under the guise of a Frenchman. Perhaps he merely accompanied a party of Frenchmen on some occasions. The question remains unsolved.

The certificate provides the latest date that Tofte is known to have been in Italy. The printer's note before *Two Tales Translated*

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Ms. 1112, *Discourse of the fiue laste Popes*, cardinal's life 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cardinal's life 48.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently *Gouernatore*, although Tofte translates "Generall." Unless Tofte made an improbable second trip to Italy, this date in English style was February 17, 1593/4.

out of Ariosto reports that the author wrote them "for his own priuate exercise, and at the earnest intreatie of some gentlemen his friends . . . in the yeere 1592. he being then in Italie." Tofte dates one of the tales from Siena July 28, 1592, and the other from Naples March 27, 1593. Thus he visited Rome, Naples, Siena, and Loreto. If one may credit the "datings" of the poems in *Laura*, he also stopped at Venice, Padua, Pesaro, Florence, Mantua, Pisa, and Fano, the last being the place where he wrote most actively. Tofte's description of Innsbruck as "a Cittie in the Mountaines as yow passe from Venice to Ausburge"<sup>1</sup> suggests that he may have returned from Italy through Germany. During his years in Italy Tofte acquired a good knowledge of the language and a considerable acquaintance with Italian literature. He doubtless brought home with him the Italian books which he later used, besides miscellaneous articles like the pair of slippers mentioned in *The Fruits of Iealousie* (p. 75). His will disposes of "a litle sweetebagg of Crymson Taffata and an unbrello of perfumed leather with a gould fryndge abowte yt which I broughte out of Italie."

The duration of Tofte's journey abroad and the neutral character of his published works make his personal religion a question of interest. In Italy he may have dissembled. Certainly he took some interest in the theology as well as in the organization of the Roman Catholic Church. One of his marginal notes mentions "the true Idea of the supposed Purgatorie,"<sup>2</sup> while in *Orlando Inamorato* he interestingly translates "*Traditor falso, heretico, villano*," as

A Traiterous Lolarde, Villaine fit for stab (G2').

Tofte's position as a firm Protestant is made clear in his *Discourse of the fiue laste Popes*, written for an Anglican bishop. As the work of an English Protestant the book is remarkably dispassionate, but Tofte drops a few revealing phrases. He condemns the Inquisition, jibes at papal activities in Ireland, and finally refers to "their superstitious and prophane Religion."<sup>3</sup> In his will Tofte affirms his belief in "the auncient Catholicke and Apostolicke faith and Creede." His interpretation of this formula is shown by his immediate expression of his conviction that he was "predestinated . . . vnto saluation."

<sup>1</sup> Lambeth Ms. 1112, cardinal's life 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ariostos Seuen Planets*, 1611, sig. O3'.

<sup>3</sup> Lambeth Ms. 1112, cardinal's life 20.

The earliest information on Tofte's activities after his return to England is found in a lawsuit brought to my attention by Dr. Mark Eccles, whose mastery of the records may well lead other students to despair. The *Coram Rege* Roll for Michaelmas, 1594,<sup>1</sup> shows that the banking arrangements for Tofte's Italian journey had given rise to a dispute between him and William Garraway. Garraway was a leading London merchant and farmer of the customs. He was knighted in 1615, and his son became Lord Mayor. The memorandum records that Robert Tofte, gentleman, by his attorney John Williams, brought suit against Garraway in Trinity term, 1594 (May 31–June 19), in the Court of Queen's Bench. Tofte claimed that on March 5, 1590/1, at Westminster he had paid Garraway £45 16s. 8d. for two bills of exchange. Garraway appointed Thomas Ciollo, then resident in Venice, to pay Tofte two hundred ducats in Venice "vpon twoe dayes sighte of the sayde first bill of exchange." It appears that the second bill was a duplicate, negotiable if the first were lost. Tofte presented the first bill in Venice on October 1, 1593. He complained that Ciollo refused to honour it, and that as a result his credit was seriously damaged. He elaborates with the legal fiction that, among divers of the Queen's subjects, his credit was especially impaired towards John Denne and Richard Fenne,<sup>2</sup> to whom he was indebted in the like sum.

The memorandum reports that Garraway answered on the Wednesday after the octave of St. Michael with a plea of *non assumpsit*, that he did not promise to pay in the manner and form alleged. Tofte sought damages in £100. A jury was to be summoned. A hasty inspection of the roll for the following Hilary term fails to disclose further information, and since the rolls are voluminous, I have not searched further.

Meanwhile Tofte's brother John had settled at Chilworth, Surrey. Although his name does not appear in that or the neighbouring parishes in the subsidy roll of 35 Elizabeth, there is record of a sale of land in Guildford by John Tofte of Chilworth, gentleman.<sup>3</sup> John was on friendly terms with Sir John Morgan of Chilworth Manor. The poet Robert also knew the knight, to whose wife he dedicated a book. John Tofte decided to venture his life and

<sup>1</sup> Record Office, K.B. 27/1331, membrane 324.

<sup>2</sup> Their fellows John Doo and Richard Roo make their appearance earlier in the memorandum.

<sup>3</sup> E. A. Fry, *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem relating to the city of London* (London: Index Library, 1896–1908), iii. 152.



£100 in the last voyage of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. In preparation he drew up his will, as John Tofte of Chilworth, gentleman, on June 18, 1595.<sup>1</sup> From the instrument one learns that the poet's mother, Mary Smith, was now a widow, and that her son by her second marriage, John Smith, apparently had died. The poet's half-sisters, Mary and Katherine Smith, were still minors. The will leaves an annuity to the mother, and the bulk of Tofte's money to his brother and half-sisters. It bequeaths £20 to Sir John Morgan's mother, Mrs. Julian Morgan, and small amounts to Jane, Eleanor, Mary, and Judith Morgan, apparently Sir John's sisters. To Sir John's wife, Lady Margery Morgan, he leaves £20 and personal effects, including "a picture of Lucres." Perhaps Mrs. Julian Morgan, wife of William Morgan, was related to the Toftes. Edward Quinby of Allington, Hants, is named executor.

Whether John Tofte went on Drake's disastrous voyage I have been unable to discover. The fleet sailed in August, 1595, and returned the following year after many mishaps and the deaths of both Drake and Hawkins. If John Tofte sailed, he returned safely, for he survived until 1599. Quinby proved his will on June 25, 1599, and the record in the Probate Act Book indicates that John still resided at Chilworth. This voyage probably suggested the lines in *The Fruits of Iealousie* (p. 83):

And for I may all snares with-stand,  
I meane to leaue my natiue Land,  
In th' INDIAN Voyage one Ile make,  
A desperate Course Ile vnder-take;  
The GOLDEN COUNTRY I will see,  
Ere home I come it long shall be.

Robert Tofte vigorously continued the literary efforts which he had begun in Italy. *Laura*, his first book, was published in 1597, and his other volumes followed at uneven intervals until 1615. He was interested in contemporary literature and was acquainted with several writers. *The Blazon of Iealousie* mentions "mine old Acquaintance and Friend, Mr. Henry Cunnestable" (p. 10), "a quondam kinde Acquaintance of mine, Mr. Thomas Watson" (p. 11), and another poet "acquaintance of mine" (p. 41). Perhaps he knew Gervase Markham—or one of the Gervases. In all his

<sup>1</sup> P.C.C., 55 Kidd. An abstract has been published by H. F. Waters in *Genealogical Gleanings in England* (Boston, 1901), ii. 1435.

writings Tofte maintained an amateur standing. As he affirmed before *Honours Academie*,

My *Muse* (as yet) I neuer Marchant made,  
Who sells his wit for Golde, is LEARNINGS IADE.

In spite of his acquaintance with authors, he apparently contributed commendatory verses to no book; in particular I have carefully searched contemporary translations from the Italian without encountering his name or initials.<sup>1</sup> Tofte's other friends, such as Peter Lewes and the Brooke family, will be considered with the books in which he mentions them. The books refer to visits of uncertain duration to Chilworth, Burnham (Bucks), Oxford, Berkshire, Lambeth, and, more dubiously, "louely *F.* where I did dwell."<sup>2</sup> Tofte also seems to have spent some time in Winchester.

Tofte's London residence was in the midst of the Inns of Court. The dedication of his manuscript to Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, shows that he was living in Holborn as early as January, 1598. Before his elevation in May, 1597, Bishop Bancroft had been rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, which was Tofte's parish church. One may infer that Tofte's acquaintance with Bancroft began during this period, in short, that in 1597 Tofte already had been living in Holborn for some time. In later years, and probably at this time also, Tofte occupied a chamber in the house of Mistress, later Widow, Goodall, in Holborn near Barnard's Inn. Tofte introduces a hidden reference to his landlady in *The Blazon of Jealousie* (p. 27).

Be she best of her Sexe, (Good All,) I hold,  
She is worse then worst, if once she proue a Scold.

Mistress Goodall was the wife of Thomas Goodall, barber-surgeon, whose burial on September 10, 1618, is recorded in the unpublished register of St. Andrew's. Since there were Goodalls in Wight near his kinsmen the Urry family of Thorley Court, it is not improbable that Tofte was led to the Goodall house by some tie of friendship.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. C. Hazlitt suggested in his *Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical, and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain* (London, 1867), p. 609, that Tofte was the author of verses before John Studley's translation of John Bale's *The Pageant of Popes*, 1574. The initials in question are not R.T., but T.R. Gent.

<sup>2</sup> *The Fruits of Jealousie*, p. 84. The autobiographical validity of this poem is questionable.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Goodall occupied a copyhold of the manor of Thorley, according to Chancery pleadings: C2 James I, G 12/50. Bartholomew Goodale of Newport, Wight, named David Urry of Aston an overseer of his will (P.C.C., 26 Ridley).

Among other lodgers in the Goodall household was Sir Robert Stewart, an adventurous but unthrifty Scots knight. Sir Robert involved Goodall in a fantastic undertaking which throws amusing light on Tofte's environment. Richard Vaux of Odiham, Hants, a promoter of obvious talent, convinced Sir Robert that a project of his devising would clear £10,000. Sir Robert, who was heavily in debt, used his influence at court to obtain a grant of the roots and stumps in the royal forests and manors. These were to be sold at great profit, presumably for fuel. Vaux's prospectus was plausible. The Lord Treasurer insisted on a gift from the profits to two other courtiers, £1000 for Sir Richard Weston and £1,200 for William Lesley, equerry of the royal stable. The patent was granted on January 29, 1609/10. The income from the sale of roots and stumps—even after the grant was extended in 1611 to deer forests—barely met expenses; meanwhile Weston and Lesley had insisted on their share in advance. Goodall was induced to lay out a large sum and to act as surety. Affairs reached an impossible state. Sir Robert had sailed to "Swethland," and Vaux took refuge in the precincts of the Temple. Goodall was left with the debts and lawsuits, and the doubtful consolation of the patent. He appealed to Chancery for relief late in 1612.<sup>1</sup>

Tofte makes a brief appearance in 1613 as a witness at the Middlesex Sessions. I am again indebted to Dr. Eccles for the reference.<sup>2</sup> On August 30, 1613, "Robert Toft de London," gentleman, entered into a recognisance of £20 before Justice of the Peace Henry Fermor, or Farmer, with the condition that he should appear personally at the next Sessions of the Peace for Middlesex to give evidence against Robert and Roger Dalton. A note adds that he came, and the recognisance was discharged. Robert Dalton of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, clerk, was charged with stealing a silver bowl from his master, Christopher Wilton of St. Clement Danes, scrivener. Roger Dalton of St. Martin's, gentleman, was charged with feloniously receiving the bowl. Unfortunately for our knowledge of Tofte, the matter was settled peacefully, and no indictments were returned. Tofte may have been acquainted with

<sup>1</sup> This summary is based on the pleadings, C 2 James I, G 13/30. For information on Sir Robert Stewart and his adventures in Ireland and Sweden, see the account in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> Middlesex Sessions Roll 524, no. 122. The documents have since been calendared by William Le Hardy, *County of Middlesex Calendar to the Sessions Records*, New Series, I (1935), 201.

the other witnesses, who were Thomas Wiat of Chelsea, waterman, William Denman of Fleet Street, saddler, and George Drurye of Field Lane, gentleman.

Advancing in years, Tofte signed his will on March 30, 1618, in the presence of John Hancock and Thomas Downes. The will affords some further biographical information. It shows that Tofte was godfather to Rebecca Hancock, who proves to be a daughter of the John who witnessed the will. The register of St. Andrew's records the baptism of Rebecca on November 8, 1616. Hancock was a barber and lived in the Goodall household. The absence of any reference to Tofte's mother in the will indicates that she had died before 1618. I have not found any record of her death. The will is similarly silent about the poet's two half-sisters, Mary and Katherine Smith. They may have died or married.

Tofte died about January 1, 1619/20, and his will was proved on January 3 in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The register of St. Andrew's reports that "Robertt Tofte gent. out of Widdo Gooddalls house neare Barnards Inn, was buryed the 24" of January. Had Tofte lived a few months longer, he would have benefited under the will of his aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Day. Her testament, made on the previous September 27, and proved on July 17, 1620, leaves £5 to "my louing Cosin Robert Toft of London gent." Tofte left a considerable estate. His will makes specific bequests of above £750 in money, besides plate, personal effects, jewelry, and memorial rings with the posie "*Donum morientis Amicj*." There was a considerable remainder, including unnamed lands and leases, for the executor George Day. Tofte was free of debt. The long, verbose, and pious will was published in full by Dr. A. B. Grosart<sup>1</sup>; it will be sufficient here to name and (with the help of the pedigree) identify the beneficiaries. In a long preamble Tofte expresses his "sound faith" that he is "predestinated . . . vnto saluation," and makes an obscure reference to quarrels with some of his kinsmen, "whose vnderdeserued vnkyndenes and ingratitude towardes me hath estraunged my harte from them."

Tofte provides a legacy for his "good aunt" Mrs. Elizabeth Day, and distributes the bulk of his estate among her children. George Day of West Drayton, Middlesex, is named executor, and the bequests to Day's wife Margaret and to his son John include the umbrella which the poet had brought from Italy. Other cousins

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of *Alba* (Manchester, 1880), pp. v-viii.

of this family who are mentioned are Jane, wife to Thomas Urry of Thorley Court, Wight, with her son Thomas Urry the younger; Margaret, wife to Edward Burrish [*alias* Burwash], mercer; and Mary, widow of Benjamin Day, with her two children [George and Elizabeth]. Thomas Urry the elder is named overseer of the will. Connected with the Urry family are the beneficiaries Mary, daughter of William Urry of Hill Place near Thorley, and Stephen Frampton of Whippingham, Wight, yeoman. The other family group mentioned is that of Tofte's distinguished but distant cousin, Sir Anthony Benne of Kingston-upon-Thames, Recorder of London. There are legacies for Sir Anthony, for Lady Jane his wife, for his daughter Ammabella, for his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Benne "widow," and for Mary Benne and her two sisters, who were apparently sisters to Sir Anthony.

Tofte mentions his goddaughter Rebecca Hancock and her sister Hester. His legacies to two Winchester men suggest that he had resided there for a time, particularly since one of them, Robert Lamborne, farmer, of Trinity Barton farm "by Winton," had bedding of Tofte's in his possession. The second is Tristram Locke, tailor, of St. Cross, Winton.<sup>1</sup> In providing for the poor of his parish Tofte specifies Goodman Maddox and his wife in White's Alley.

The most perplexing legacy remains to be mentioned. Dorothy Popley, daughter of the late Captain Oliver Popley, is given £100 and plate inscribed with the letters *D* and *P*. I have failed to trace Popley, and it is not clear whether he was a kinsman or friend. Perhaps he had married one of Tofte's half-sisters, who are not mentioned in the will. The executor George Day's tardiness in paying the legacy has fortunately preserved some slight information about the daughter Dorothy. Miss Margaret Dowling has kindly communicated the facts, which are found in a judgment of the Court of Requests.<sup>2</sup> One Thomas Bray and his wife Dorothy, who is obviously Dorothy Popley, brought action against Day as executor of Tofte's will. They seem to have accused him of withholding the legacies, which are described as in the will. Day apparently answered that he had given over the plate and £60. The judgment of the court, dated "xvj Nov., xiiij<sup>o</sup> Charles I" [1638], orders Day to pay a further £40 to settle the matter.

<sup>1</sup> In *The Blazon of Jealousie*, p. 6, Tofte speaks of George Wither, who was from Hampshire, as "a Country-man of mine, although a stranger vnto mee." But "Country-man" here probably means "Englishman," as on p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Record Office, Req. 2/489.

In this biographical sketch I have scrupulously refrained from mentioning the love affairs described in Tofte's verse ; the material is too vague to rank beside documents. I cannot even discern whether the misogyny characteristic of his later works arose from the ill success of his suit to Alba, or was merely a chronic affectation concealing a sensitive nature. The sketch has provided a background for Tofte's works without throwing much light on his character. For insight into his personality and knowledge of his mistress one must turn to the books themselves.

In conclusion one may consider evidence of an intermediate nature. Tofte's brief marginalia in a copy of the 1561 folio of Chaucer's *Works* bear on both his misogyny and his hobby of annotating. The present owners, Messrs. Ellis of 29, New Bond Street, London, have kindly allowed me to examine the unusually interesting volume. An inscription on the titlepage shows that in 1597 the book was given to Sir George Buc by Lady Margaret Radcliff, a Maid of Honour to Queen Elizabeth. There is no evidence that Tofte knew either of these two noted members of the Court, and it is uncertain whether he wrote in the book before or after it was in their hands.

At the conclusion of the prologue to *The Testament of Loue* (fol. 285<sup>v</sup>) Tofte has written a cryptic, unsigned note : " In lode de la Madama Marie M—— donzella bellessa, et gentildonna." On the margin of *The Remedie of Loue* (f. 323) he wrote :

Foemina, flamma, fretum, monstrum, insanabile vulnus  
Demon, et quo non, peius in orbe malum.  
R. Tofte

A brief scrap of Latin (f. 324) is signed with the initials R T. The final note (f. 348<sup>v</sup>) is the longest :

Aere quot volucres insunt, quot littore concha,  
Tot mala, tot fraudes mens muliebris habet.

As manie Birdes the Aire, and fishe the seas containe  
So manie Fraudes, shifts, mischifs, Wiles  
A Woman hath in braine.

A complete signature of Tofte's appeared beneath this note, but the binder has trimmed away all but the tops of a few letters. Tofte's works contain a few hints that he had read Chaucer. It is probable that his occasional archaisms, such as " we comen are " and " as I weene " in *Orlando Inamorato* (sig. B2<sup>v</sup>), are Chaucerian rather than Spenserian.

(To be continued)



## SOME NOTES ON DRYDEN

By C. E. WARD

### I

#### DRYDEN'S LOAN TO CHARLES II

ONE of the most important threads in the tangled skein of Dryden's finances is a loan of £500 to Charles II. Because of the importance of the document, preserved in the Public Record Office,<sup>1</sup> I print it in full :

29 Nov. 1671

(75)

John Dryden Esq in repaym<sup>t</sup> of Loane on the Customes comēceing at Miclas 1671

By order dated 17th day of Febr̄y 1670[-1] to John Dryden Esq or his assigns the sūme of Five hundred pounds in repayment of soe much money by him lent unto his Ma<sup>ty</sup> upon the Creditt of the Customes comēceing at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangell in the year of our Lord God 1671 as by Tally of Loane Levyed at the Receipt of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Exchequer Dated with this order appeareth Together also with the Interest thereof at the rate of VI<sup>th</sup> p cent p annum at the end of every six months untill the repaym<sup>t</sup> of the principall money aforesaid. Per tre de Privatt Sigill dat XVI Octob 1667 et Ul<sup>t</sup> die Aprilis 1668.

Below this order is the following note, written by the Lord Treasurer :

Sir Robert Long. Let this order and ye interest due upon it be paid forthwith out of any money that comes to your hands of his Mat<sup>es</sup> customs Wallingford House June ye 17th 1673.

Clifford

On the margin of the page, in Latin, is noted :

£500 thereof this day £15 for interest of the same owing for six months from the day of the date of the order aforesaid to the 18th day of August 1671, and the 19th day of June 1673 £500 paid as aforesaid and £45 for interest of the same owing from 18th Aug 1671 to 18 February 1672[-3].

<sup>1</sup> E. 403/2772, p. 109.

One wonders why Charles should have borrowed from the rising young poet, how, indeed, he should have known Dryden well enough in 1667 to borrow. One also wonders how Dryden was able to lend that much money to his Sovereign. There are, however, possible answers to both questions. After publication of *Annus Mirabilis*, with its celebration of the Stuarts, Dryden might well have excited the interest of Charles. Precisely how the poet became acquainted with the King is a matter for speculation. It seems reasonable to suggest that Dryden met the King through the friendship of Sir Thomas Clifford.<sup>1</sup>

The answer to the question, Where did Dryden find the money to lend? is to be found in his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Howard. She had been granted £3,000 for her father's services to the Stuarts; and portions of this grant were being paid between 1665 and 1669.<sup>2</sup> From this source alone Dryden could have found the money for the loan.

The date of the loan suggests a possible influence upon Dryden's appointment to the laureateship. As we have seen, the letters of Privy Seal were originally dated in October 1667. On the last day of the following April the loan was apparently renewed, perhaps with the interest of six months paid. That date is so close to that of Dryden's appointment (April 13, 1668)<sup>3</sup> that one might find in it a more than accidental connection.

Financially, at least, Dryden's loan to Charles appears to have been a moderately good investment. The repayment of the loan with interest indicates that the poet was here more successful in collecting money from Charles than he was to be in his pension transactions. His good fortune, I believe, is to be laid to Clifford's intercession.

## II

### "MR. DREIDEN'S SERGE BED"

In an article in *M.L.N.* (January 1927) Mr. W. S. Clark quotes a letter from Sloane 813, f. 71, and suggests that it contains an

<sup>1</sup> See the Dedication of *Amboyna* and the Dedication of the *Pastorals* to Hugh, second Lord Clifford. The relationship of the Clifford family to Dryden is of considerable interest. I hope to treat it more fully in a later publication.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "A Biographical Note on John Dryden" in *M.L.R.*, xxvii (1932), pp. 206 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1667-1668, p. 341. I am preparing a more detailed discussion of this whole problem.

"important fact in Dryden's biography." It is from Sir Andrew Henley to Sir Robert Howard, dated in 1663. The following is the pertinent excerpt from that manuscript :

Next the bussines of the house must be mencōned in which all y<sup>t</sup> I can say is that for the Serge Bed M<sup>r</sup> Dreiden uses it . . .

I doubt very much whether this reference is to the poet, though to assume so is quite natural in view of the fact that Sir Robert Howard is the addressee. His connection with Dryden in that year is almost certain.<sup>1</sup> Yet if one thumbs through the letterbook of Henley (Sloane 813) one finds other references, curiously overlooked by Mr. Clark, to a Mr. Dryden, which suggest that he is the same man as that mentioned in f. 71 and by no means the poet. At f. 10<sup>v</sup>, for example, is this passage in a letter, dated March 19, 1660, from Andrew Henley to his brother :

I thank you for ye account Mr Dreidon gives of Paul, I have set it this one year . . . for an 120th, & I abate for Mr. Hick's Tythe—7th a year, so I have only 113th for this year : Therefore I pray in y<sup>r</sup> next thank Mr. Dreidon & tell him : if he can get me a Tenant [who] would take it at 130th a year & abating 7th a year for [tithe ?] I shall gratifye his Peyns.

At f. 10<sup>v</sup>, in a letter, dated March 23, 1660, to a Mr. Chattey, is another reference :

And for Mrs. Philip Guavas I pray have her arrested at my suite in an [account] of the arrears for the tythes of St. Paul being worth about 90 a yeare as Mr. Driden Mr Godolphins Steward doth lately informe me.<sup>2</sup>

In another letter, dated the following week, Henley refers to Mr. Dreyden as Squire Godolphin's steward.

That a Mr. Dryden was connected with the Godolphin family is proved by a reference in a letter from Sidney Godolphin to his mother, dated at London, December 3 [1663] :

Your messenger is extreemly impatient or else for aught I know I would expect an answer of this before I determined this matter. . . . There is a report . . . that there is a demur in y<sup>r</sup> affaire, if so, I would rather venture upon Mr. Drydens anger at Robin [the messenger] when he comes home, & his at me here, than committ any mor errors in this businesse<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Clark's conjecture, that "Dryden and Howard . . . [were] now living together in bachelor's quarters" is wholly unwarranted.

<sup>2</sup> St. Paul was, and still is, a parish only three miles from Penzance.

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MS.*, 28052, ff. 31-32.

Since the Godolphin family resided near Helston in Cornwall, not many miles from St. Paul, it seems likely that the Mr. Dryden mentioned in Henley's letter to Howard is the same man to whom Henley refers in the other letters and the same who appears in the Godolphin letter. The poet was almost certainly in London writing poetry during these years, not in Cornwall as the Godolphin family steward.<sup>1</sup>

## III

HONORIA IN *THE RIVAL LADIES*

Malone, in his biography of Dryden, suggested, because of the early letter to Honor Dryden, that the poet was perhaps more than ordinarily interested in his cousin and that in later years he paid her the compliment of naming Honoria in *The Rival Ladies* for her.<sup>2</sup> This suggestion has always seemed a bit far-fetched.

It seems more likely that Dryden was paying a compliment—if indeed one was paid—to the wife of his good friend and brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard. In the Chancery suit of Howard v. Ayliffe,<sup>3</sup> it appears that Howard's wife [the second?] had been Honoria Englefield. When Howard was married to her is uncertain, but since the suit dates in 1665, I should be inclined to place the date of the marriage in 1664. Since Dryden was on good terms with Howard in 1664 and had married his sister in December 1663, it seems certain that he would have been privy to Howard's courtship even as early as 1663. If the character of Honoria in Dryden's play is intended as a compliment to a living person, I venture to suggest that it was to Sir Robert and his new bride rather than to his country cousin.

## IV

## THE MILK-WHITE HIND

After Dryden became a Roman Catholic, one of his patrons was Hugh, Lord Clifford, to whom he dedicated the *Pastorals*. The close friendship of the first Lord Clifford and the identity of religious

<sup>1</sup> In an effort to trace this Dryden I went to Helston, but met with only partial success. The Town Clerk, Mr. J. P. Rogers, kindly gave me copies of genealogies of the local Dryden family in the eighteenth century. It appears probable that this family were descendants of the Dryden who was in Godolphin's employ.

<sup>2</sup> E. Malone, *Prose Works of John Dryden*, 1800, vol. 1, p. 24 f.

<sup>3</sup> P.R.O., C6/33/35.

faith doubtless helped to bring the poet in frequent contact with the son of his old patron. For these reasons, if for no other, Dryden would have found a welcome refuge at Ugbrooke, the seat of Lord Clifford in Devonshire.

Tradition there has always insisted that Dryden was a frequent visitor at Ugbrooke Park, especially after 1686, when it is supposed that he embraced his new faith. His visits would undoubtedly have been most congenial, for here was the oldest post-reformation Chapel in the south of England, where Mass was regularly celebrated. It was probably one of the few places where the neophyte to Catholicism could have performed his religious duties without fear of official spying.

The poet's visits have also left another tradition, which insists that *The Hind and the Panther* was written while Dryden was staying at Ugbrooke. Among the herd of deer then in the Park was a fairly good proportion of white deer. The milk-white hind of the poem was probably no figment of the poet's imagination, but was very likely suggested by the sight of the white deer in the herd as they grazed on the hillsides of the Park. In any event, from that time on, because of the Dryden tradition, the white strain has from one generation to another been perpetuated, until now there are more white deer in this herd than in any other private herd. Is it too much to imagine that, as his religious poem took form in the summer of 1686, Dryden, on a visit to Ugbrooke, found in the white deer a suggestion for his allegorical beast, the milk-white hind? <sup>1</sup>

## V

THE AGREEMENT FOR THE *VIRGIL*

The agreement between Dryden and Tonson for the translation and publication of the *Virgil* is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> Space forbids printing this important document in full, but significant quotation from it will indicate its value.<sup>3</sup>

The document is dated June 15, 1694, and is witnessed for Dryden by William Congreve. Dryden agrees to translate "with all convenient Speed from the Latine into English Verse all the Eccloges Georgicks And Eneids of Virgill and prepare them for the

<sup>1</sup> The Honourable Charles Clifford kindly showed me about Ugbrooke and gave me the information contained in this note.

<sup>2</sup> Add. MS., 36933 and Add. Charter 8429.

<sup>3</sup> I hope shortly to publish a re-examination of the profits of the *Virgil*.

Presse," with such notes, preface, or dedication as he shall think most fitting. And in order to complete the work as soon as possible he further promises that he "will not write translate or publish or assist in the writing translating or publishing of any other book . . ." except "a little French Booke of Painting which he hath engag'd to perform for some Gentlemen Vertuosoes and Painters", original poetry or prose not to exceed the price of one shilling when printed, and "the writing of the Prolouge Epilouge or songs" to his son's play.

Tonson's financial obligation is important. The stationer agrees to give a total of £200 in the manner following: £50 for the Eclogues and Georgics; £50 for the first four books of the *Æneid*; £50 for the next four books; and £50 for the last four. Tonson further promises to provide the plates and cuts formerly used in Ogilby's translation, and to supply all that are wanting to complete the number of one hundred. He also agrees "to use all his interests and Indeavour to procure so many persons as there are Cutts in the said book to subscribe to pay five guineys each person to be paid to the said John Dryden." The money as it is collected he is to pay to Dryden upon the latter's demand "forthwith without any defalcation or Excuse whatever." All money received above the subscription price goes to Dryden; and Tonson agrees to swear before a Master in Chancery the amount of money he has collected.

Dryden, further, is to have as many books as he shall desire of the same quality paper, with the cuts, upon paying Tonson "soe much above the selling price of the said books printed upon common paper as the charge of printing them upon the said best paper shall amount to. . . ." If any difference shall arise on this score, it shall be submitted to the arbitration of three persons chosen by them jointly. Tonson promises not to print more books than are subscribed for or to make any proposals for a second impression until all the subscribers' copies are disposed of.

It is further agreed that when the work is completed as far as the sixth *Æneid* Dryden shall be at liberty to publish an advertisement giving notice that none but subscribers can have books of the fine paper and that any "who expect that advantage may send their first subscription money." At this time, too, Dryden is expected to signify the number of copies he desires. If the subscribers do not number as many as one hundred, he has the privilege of returning all money received for subscriptions and of making a new agreement



with Tonson or with any other person. Tonson must send back to Dryden the translation, without printing any of it, unless Tonson will give as much as Dryden might get from any other stationer. Each party to this contract binds himself in the amount of £200.

I believe there can be no reasonable doubt that Dryden dictated nearly all of the items in this contract. In some respects it is a shrewder document than one might expect from the poet. But by this time he knew his man, and he was in such desperate financial circumstances that he could not afford to undertake a work of that magnitude without very definite legal guarantees.

## VI

## TWO "NEW" SONGS OF DRYDEN

In the agreement for the *Virgil*, Dryden agreed not to engage in any other literary work except the translation of Du Fresnoy and the writing of the prologue, epilogue, or the songs in his son's play. The play referred to, of course, is *The Husband his own Cuckold*, by John Dryden, jr. This was probably written before the end of 1694, since Dryden had before June 15 of that year agreed to furnish out the play. The dedication to Sir Robert Howard, however, is dated at Rome, August 20, 1695, and the title-page of the only edition carries the date of 1696. The two songs in this comedy were, I think, written by Dryden, probably late in 1694 or in the early months of 1695.<sup>1</sup> The first song, in Act I, is as follows:

Help, help ye Pow'rs Divine,  
For sure from you this Lightning came,  
That from his Eyes shot thorough mine,  
Down to my Heart a subtile flame.

## 2

I try to get free, but always in vain,  
For as fast as I fly, I fly with my pain.  
There's nothing my Love and my Life can divide,  
For equally both to my heart-strings are ty'd.

The second song, in dialogue form and of greater length, occurs in Act v. It is sung by Lurch and his wife:

He. Why so Coy, and so Strange?  
Does your Kindness decline?  
Your Love find a Change,  
Or do you doubt mine?

<sup>1</sup> Congreve wrote the prologue; Dryden wrote a short preface and the epilogue. These songs seem to me to have the authentic Dryden touch; so that perhaps we may assume that he carried out his promise to his son.

*SHE.* When inconstant Men grow,  
We can quickly discern,  
And our Sex you well know,  
Are apt Scholars to Learn,  
I watch'd how yor Eyes on Phillis were glancing,  
Crown'd with a Garland of Roses for dancing :  
When the Pedler came, you gave her a Lace,  
And a fine gaudy string for her Needle-Case.

*HE.* You remember, it may be,  
When you were May-Lady,  
The Nimble Thyrsis so caper'd and chanted,  
You gave him a Ribband so long that it flaunted  
And wav'd in the air ; when the brisk youth then try'd  
For a Kiss, you simper'd, and faintly deny'd :  
And blushing, you only cry'd fie, forbear,  
You're such another ; nay, pish, I swear  
There was ne'er in the World such rudeness as this ;  
Yet gently contriv'd he shou'd ravish a Kiss :

*HE.* Now prithee let's leave this impertinent struggle,

*SHE.* For men will be false,

*HE.* And Women will juggle.

*SHE.* Then let us be easie by freedom hereafter  
For Jealousie never yet mended the Matter.

*HE.* What's past, we'll forget,

*SHE.* What's to come, ne'er enquire

*BOTH.* But take surest Advice of Present Desire.

## VII

### AN ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE *VIRGIL*

One of the few extant manuscripts in Dryden's hand is preserved in the Cambridge University Library.<sup>1</sup> It is a copy of an advertisement concerning subscriptions to the *Virgil*. I transcribe it in full :

I have intrusted my much Honour'd Friend Mr. Atterbury,<sup>2</sup> to receive the Money subscibed [*sic*] to me for the Translation of Virgil ; & to give receipts to the Subscribers for the same.

The Price of the Book is two Guineys : one of which is to be paid Mr. Atterbury<sup>3</sup> at the time of Subscription : the other to my Stationer Mr. Tonson, at the receipt of the Book.

The Paper, print & figures of the Book, to be the best : and equall in all respects to those Books, for which five<sup>4</sup> Guineys are subscribd : only the Coats of Armes are not inserted to these Second Subscribers.

The Names and Titles of these Second Subscribers, shall be printed<sup>5</sup> in a List before the Book.

<sup>1</sup> *Add. MS.*, 4429 (10).

<sup>2</sup> Another name has been scratched out and Atterbury's substituted.

<sup>3</sup> The same erasure and substitution.

<sup>4</sup> Two has been erased and five inserted above.

<sup>5</sup> An erasure here.

By agreement betwixt me and my Stationer, no more Books are to be printed on the finest paper, than onely those, which are bespoken by the Subscribers.

All the Eclogues, all the Georgigs [*sic*], & the first six Eneids are already Translated: and I Judg the Whole Work will be finished by Lady Day next.

John Dryden.

Unfortunately there is no date attached to the document. It is, however, possible to arrive at an approximate date. From the last sentence it is clear that more than half the work was then completed. "Lady Day next" undoubtedly refers to March 25, 1697, for in 1695 he had been engaged in the task less than a year.<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to date it between April and June, 1696.

This advertisement for second subscribers is interesting, because in the original agreement with Tonson (*q.v. ante*) Dryden made no specific mention of a second subscribers' list, though he was shrewd enough to insert a protective clause in the event that the work should become popular enough to warrant a second edition. It appears, therefore, that public interest was so keen at the half-way point that the cheaper edition was justified.

### VIII

#### DRYDEN, HIGDEN, AND TONSON

In 1686 Dryden wrote an Epistle to his friend Henry Higden on his Translation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal. These verses contain several references which assume a new meaning when they are referred to a Chancery suit of some months earlier. Dryden's comments on law and Chancery are, I believe, reminiscences of the suit which Higden brought against Tonson in April 1686.<sup>2</sup> Higden's Bill and Tonson's Answer contain some information of importance, especially in view of Dryden's connection with Tonson. Since Dryden was almost certainly privy to the complaints of both of his friends, the difficulties aired in this suit may have served as a background to Dryden's agreement with Tonson for the *Virgil*.

In November 1685, says Higden, he completed a poem entitled "A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal," which he

<sup>1</sup> In a letter dated September 3, 1696, printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* no. 78, Hastings MSS., vol. II, p. 280, it is stated: "Mr. Dryden is upon the 12th book of his *Virgil*, the 11th is said by good judges to outdo the original."

<sup>2</sup> P.R.O., C6/254/31.

had licensed. Several booksellers sought to purchase it "with liberty to print and publicly expose the same to sale." Then "One Jacob Tonson . . . insinuated himself into your orators acquaintance pretending great friendship to persuade your orator that the best method was to cause the book to be printed in and under the name of some public bookseller who should be accountable to your orator for the profits allowing to such bookseller some small advantage for making use of his name and his industry in collecting the money thereby raised." Believing in Tonson's friendship, Higden came to an agreement whereby 1,025 copies were to be printed, twenty-five for the author's use as gift copies. The remainder were to be sold by Tonson and by "Hawkey and others as is customary." The poet duly delivered the copy of the poem, which Tonson "had printed at two printing houses half at the printing house of Edward Horton near Clerkenwell and half at Thomas Hodgskins in West Smithfield." But unknown to Higden, Tonson printed a larger number than they had agreed on and had sold them. Now the stationer refuses to give an account of the profits, saying that he has sold no copies, or that he is out of pocket for the printing, or that he does not know how many copies are sold. Higden further asserts that most of the copies are sold and that Tonson is preparing a second impression. Unfortunately the agreement was made privately, and Higden has no witnesses.

Tonson replies that Higden asked him to get the poem printed, but he denies ever printing as many as 1,025 copies, or that he intends printing any more; for half of the original impression is unsold. In December "he sent Randall Taylor (who usually dispenses books for this debt to the Hawkers and others) 300 copies who in March returned 206." Other booksellers in Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, and Nottingham had returned half or more of their stock.

Though it is difficult to determine where right resides, Higden's complaint suggests that Tonson was, if not dishonest, a sharp bargainer.

## SOME EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VULGARISMS

By WILLIAM MATTHEWS

ALTHOUGH there is some occasional comment in the seventeenth century upon vulgarisms in the speech of the period, notably in Cooper's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, 1679, and in the *Writing Scholar's Companion*, 1699, there is no extensive discussion of the subject until about the middle of the eighteenth century. Even the dramatists neglected to provide their vulgar characters, other than the four conventional dialect characters, with appropriate pronunciations and rested content with giving them malapropisms and the like. But in the eighteenth century writers of books on pronunciation begin to show an interest in vulgarism, and this interest is shared by some of the novelists and men of letters. No writer was sufficiently interested to examine the subject thoroughly until Samuel Pegge published his *Anecdotes of the English Language* in 1803, but it is nevertheless possible to collect a fairly extensive account of vulgarisms in pronunciation from orthoepists' text-books and from various novels, etc., written in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The vulgarisms of this period have a peculiar interest. It was during the eighteenth century that the main effort was made to rescue English pronunciation from the irregularity and diversity which had prevailed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and, as I have shown in this journal,<sup>1</sup> even in the early eighteenth century, and to settle the absolute form of Standard English. The vulgarisms of the period are intimately related to this effort at standardization, and it is chiefly for the light it throws upon the growth of Standard English that I have collected the information upon vulgar speech discussed in this article.

My first source is John Yeomans's *The Abecedarian*, 1759, although the book does not yield much information upon vulgar

<sup>1</sup> 'Some Eighteenth Century Phonetic Spellings,' R.E.S., January and April, 1936.

speech habits, apart from two very interesting notes. The first of these condemns the practice of the citizens of London of pronouncing short *e* instead of short *a*, a practice in which the dwellers in Mayfair and Whitechapel are in agreement still, as Professor Lloyd James has recently remarked. The second note condemns the vulgar affectation of replacing *o* by *a*: "instead of *God* and *rod*," says Yeomans, "they mince and amble out *Gad* and *rad*, *Lard* for *Lord* and *accarding* for *according*." It is clear from this note that the foppish affectation beloved of the Restoration dramatist persisted even into the eighteenth century. When Sheridan took over Vanbrugh's character, Lord Foppington, in *A Trip to Scarborough*, the burlesque upon the fop's *stap's*, *Tam's* and *plat's* must still have struck home at some of the audience.

The second source is Granville Sharp's *A Short Treatise on the English Tongue*, 1767, in which a section is devoted to a discussion of certain vulgarisms. This section was prompted by a popular treatise then recently published by a Mr. John Gignoux called *The Child's Best Instructor in Spelling and Reading*, 1757. Sharp declares that in his "Table of Words written different from their pronunciation" Gignoux had "too much followed the common London pronunciation, which, though perhaps in general the best, yet has some very exceptionable particularities, among which are *Potticary* for *Apothecary*; *Athist* for *Atheist*; *Awkurd* for *Awkward*; *Riccolas* for *Auricolas*; *Belcony* for *Balcony*; *Carrin* for *Carrion*; *Sirket* for *Circuit*; *Crowner* for *Coroner*; *Gorjus* for *Gorgeous*; *Hankerchur* for *Handkerchief* . . ." etc. The complete list affords a valuable section of London pronunciations which were then vulgar, at least in Sharp's opinion.

Shortly afterwards, Solomon Lowe published *The Critical Spelling Book*, 1770. The author, who announces that he had been tutor to his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and to the Princess Amelia, declares that his rules follow "the most common way of pronouncing . . . among the better sort of people at London," although he is careful to add that "even among them we find . . . corruptions which one may venture to declare inexcusable," his examples being *bushop*, *kiver* (cover), *scrouge* (crowd), *squench* (quench), *squeege* (squeeze), *yerb* (herb), and *yuern* (yours). The suggestion that some of these vulgarisms were used by "the better sort of people" is interesting, as it is echoed in the comments of other writers. The orthoepists might declare certain pronuncia-



tions vulgar, but they were not exclusively used by the uneducated classes.

A fair amount of information on London vulgarity appears in various works by James Elphinston. Elphinston, a Scot educated at the University of Edinburgh, came to London in 1753 and, like a number of his compatriots, set up shop as a teacher of English pronunciation. He was a man of good education and therefore not a subject for the burlesque which Smollett in *Roderick Random* directed against the Scot "who professed the pronunciation of the English tongue after a method more speedy and uncommon than practised heretofore," despite the fact that "three in four parts of his dialect were as unintelligible to me as if he had spoken in Arabic or Irish." Coming from Edinburgh, Elphinston was struck by the vulgarisms which were current in London speech and consequently he was at pains to denounce them in his orthoepical treatises. These vulgarisms are best summarized, perhaps, in his rendering of a Martial epigram into the vulgar London speech of the time. The following is a sample :

*Ve have at length resoom'd our place,  
 And can, with doo distinction, SET,  
 Nor ve, the great and vulgar met.  
 Ve dooly can behold the play,  
 Sence ve in no confusion, LAY.  
 Of ruination vanc't afear'd  
 Veu ve vas NEITHER seen OR hear'd;  
 Tell this day, wite as alablaster,  
 BEWRAYS me of myself no master . . . etc.*

These and other London vulgarisms are commented upon incidentally in his books *Principles of the English Language*, 1765, *Propriety Ascertained in her Picture*, 1787, and *English Orthoggraphy Epitomized*, 1790. The information upon English speech, standard and vulgar, in these books has been collected and discussed in Engelbert Müller's monograph, *Englische Lautlehre nach James Elphinston*, 1914.

The most important source of our information upon the vulgar London speech of the second half of the eighteenth century is, however, John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*, first published in 1791. Walker, who was born at Colney Hatch, Middlesex, set up as a teacher of elocution in 1770, after some years on the stage. In the introduction to his dictionary he gives four special sets of rules warning Scots, Irishmen, foreigners, and Londoners against their errors in English pronunciation, prefacing

his discussion of the London errors with the warning that "my countrymen the Cockneys . . . as they are the models of pronunciation to the distant provinces, ought to be the more scrupulously correct." He notes four principal errors in London speech, the first pronouncing plural *s* after *-st*," as if it were a distinct syllable, *postés*, *fistés*, etc., the second "pronouncing *w* for *v* and inversely," as *weal* (veal), *winegar*, *vine* (wine), etc., the third "not sounding *h* after *w*," as *wile* (while), *wip* (whip), etc., and the fourth "not sounding *h* where it ought to be sounded, and inversely," as *art* (heart), *harm* (arm), etc. In addition, throughout the dictionary he makes occasional comments upon the vulgar pronunciation of various words. Taking this information together, Walker gives a fairly complete account of the Cockney speech which we later find used by Sam Weller and the other Dickensian Cockneys.

Last in our list of authorities comes R. Nares's *General Rules for the Pronunciation of the English Language*, 1792. In Chapter II, "Of Colloquial Corruptions and Contractions," the author gives a list of "a few pretty general errors . . . and of these many will doubtless appear mere vulgarisms, since among enlightened speakers, every deviation from the purity of language is low and vulgar." He acknowledges, however, that some of these vulgarisms were occasionally used among all ranks. Among these vulgarisms are *chaw* (chew), *cowcumber*, *crawfish*, *to drownd*, *Hartichoke*, *hatchment* (achievement), *hist* (hoist), *hunderd*, *scrouge* (crowd), *sparrowgrass*, *vittles*, etc. Although his examples vary a little, the errors he notes are very much the same as those condemned by the other orthoepists.

These are the chief commentators upon the vulgar speech of the second half of the century, but corroboration of their information and much additional information may be found in more literary sources. About the middle of the eighteenth century it became a minor literary amusement to write burlesque letters in unconventional spelling. Thus, in the 1749 volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (pp. 551-2), Mr. Urban published a letter from Betty, a cook-maid, which begins in this way :

Mister Urban—SUR,

I haf bin a kok med sefen yers in on famly—Asquires, and wher I du lif now is Asquires, and haf liffed tree munts : And me mistris is a fery gud kok hurself—an on day she toke fisik and did not cum down stars to spit mete—wich was a surlin o beef and I spit it and led it down and the gak

vent verry vel and the mete did not go and I put leden skefers in and then it stud on tother sid and I was in a grate pashun and vent op stars to mee mistris and tuld hur . . . etc.

And in the next volume (1750, p. 82) there appears a further letter from another servant, Jane Rostwell, written in the same type of orthography, *cf.* :

Deer mistrs Bety,

I kan't ecspres hou mutch i an' oll cok meds ar obleegd to yu—i live in a smal family, an' thiss nu yeer mi mistrs wos to haue sum cumpne, an' i had a pis of bef largr then ornare, an' i spet it as evn as i kud but it wud not go a bowt, thof the gak vent wary vel . . . etc.

Several similar letters appear in contemporary novels, particularly in those of Fielding and Smollett. A characteristic epistle is the letter by Mrs. Honour which appears in *Tom Jones*, Book XV, Chapter X.

Sir—I shud sartenly half kaled on you a Cordin too my promiss haddunt itt bin that hur lashipp prevent mee ; for to bee sur, sir, you nose very well that evere persun must luk furst at ome, and sartenly such anuther offar mite not ave ever hapnd ; . . . etc.

Jonathan Wild's letter to the adorable Miss Tishy—a letter in which the spelling, although not strictly orthographical, could have been no blemish in that sublime greatness—Deborah Hornbeck's epistle to Peregrine Pickle (Chapter XLI), and Clarinda's letter to Thomson (*Roderick Random*, Chapter XVI) are of the same type. And finally there is the series of such letters which are among the chief amusements of *Humphry Clinker*, in which Tabitha Bramble and Winifred Jenkins revel in freedom from orthographical rules in a style which must have inspired Thackeray's footman-hero, Jeames Yellowplush.

These letters are nearly all written by servants or by the female relations of merchants. The misspellings have the dual function of burlesquing the lack of education which led to infringements of the sacred laws of orthography and, what is more important for us, of burlesquing pronunciations which were considered vulgar, either because they were old-fashioned or because they appeared to break the laws of analogy or the rules for pronunciation put forward in the many orthoepical treatises of the time. Although the letters partake of the quality of burlesque, they have in fact a somewhat serious intent, and they are not very exaggerated. In the letters

and other documents written by some ladies of important families in the first half of the century there are many examples of unorthodox spelling which compare favourably—or otherwise!—with the efforts of even Winifred Jenkins. Practically all the phonetic spellings found in these burlesque letters may be found, too, in such documents as those which afforded the material for my article "Some Eighteenth-Century Phonetic Spellings" (*R.E.S.*, January and April, 1936).

It is important to notice that, although these letters were supposed to be written by ignorant people from diverse parts of England, they do not contain any provincialisms. Betty addresses her letter from Lancashire, Jane was a country girl, although we do not learn what was her home, Jonathan Wild was a Cockney, and Winifred Jenkins a Welsh girl (she speaks of "my poor Welsh brain"), but their phonetic spellings are all of the same type. Betty has no Lancashire dialect forms, nor does Winifred Jenkins use the conventional Welsh dialect. That dialect had been fixed for nearly two centuries. How little it had changed since the worthy Fluellen gave his dissertation on Alexander the Pig may be judged from the following typical dialect passage of Morgan, the Welsh sailor in *Peregrine Pickle*—"As for a shentleman in distress . . . I lofe him as I lofe my powels; for, Got help me! I have had vexations enough upon my own pack," etc. (Chapter XXV). Instead of this jargon, Winifred has an abundance of such forms as *vitness*, *winegar*, *voman*, *wally* (valet), *halteration*, *hylands* (islands), *kettle* (cattle), *fect*, *sarvant*, *varsal* (universal), *could* (cold), *ould*, *pursing* (person), *mounting* (mountain), etc., forms which were thought to be characteristic not of Welsh dialect but of vulgar London speech. Even the few forms which, one might be tempted to think, reflect Welsh characteristics, *orld* (world), *silfur*, *fillitch* (village), *Kalloway* (Galloway) etc., were in fact also characteristic of London vulgarity, and may be found in the other vulgar letters and are occasionally described or hinted at by the orthoepists. It is clear, therefore, that the burlesque in these letters was aimed not against provincialism but against Cockney vulgarisms.

A second important feature of the misspellings is that they are used by the well-to-do characters as well as by the servants. Clarinda, the well-off London lady, has the same vulgarisms as Mrs. Honour and Deborah Hornbeck, while Tabitha, the spinster sister of the learned Matthew Bramble, has the same vulgarisms as Winifred

Jenkins the servant, *cf.* her spellings : *Villiams*, *haired* (aired), *sould* (sold), *sarvants*, *chickings*, *lacksitif*, *safe* (save). The only difference between them is that Tabitha has not so large a proportion of misspellings as Winifred. Her education in orthography had proceeded a little farther than the servant's, but she apparently spoke much the same. This characteristic of the vulgar letters gives point to the suggestion often found in the writings of the orthoepists, that certain pronunciations, although they were vulgar and erroneous, were also sometimes used (shamefully, in the orthoepists' opinion) by some of the "better sort of people."

In fact, the attacks of the orthoepists and of the authors of the vulgar letters was really upon the irregular pronunciations which persisted in the speech of the middle class of London and, possibly from their example, in the speech of the middle and upper classes generally. The text-books of the orthoepists were not intended to correct the speech of the lower classes, most of whom could not read, but to warn the middle class against using irregular pronunciations which were also used by the vulgar. And the vulgar letters have the same purpose.

With many of these vulgarisms, therefore, the wish was father to the thought. They may have been used by illiterate Londoners, but they were used by respectable people too. This was the period when the absolute form of Standard English was being settled, but there was as yet no complete agreement. In consequence, when one comes to examine the rules of the various orthoepists of the period, one finds that although they agree upon the main principles, there is an amusing discrepancy in their dicta regarding exceptional pronunciations. I have already pointed out that Sharp's list of vulgarisms is taken from a list of exceptions allowed as correct by John Gignoux. Similarly, many of the other forms declared by one orthoepist to be vulgar are declared correct by another. It is clear that, although many of the middle class followed the rules, others preferred to stick to the traditional forms. As they make an enlightening and not unamusing comment upon the process by which absolute Standard English was attained, I have collected these permitted exceptions and compared them with the vulgarisms condemned by some orthoepists or reflected in the misspellings of the vulgar letters. The sources for the permitted exceptions are : W. Johnston's *A Pronouncing and Spelling Dictionary*, 1764 ; Samuel Hammond's *A New Introduction to Learning*, 1750 ; John Carter's

*A Practical English Grammar*, 1773; and the works by Nares, Elphinston, Walker, Sharp, Lowe, and Gignoux already referred to.

*Present-day* [i:]. A few of the vulgar spellings suggest that an unraised [e:] was still occasionally used in vulgar non-dialectal speech. These forms are: *raisins* (reasons), T.B., *vaned* (weaned), W.J., and two words where the vowel occurred before *r*, *ars* (ears), W.J., and *tares* (tears, n.), W.J. The spelling *kay* (key), W. J., should also be noted. None of the orthoepists suggest that this vowel survived among good speakers.

*Present-day* [i]. The use of the lowered [e] in vulgar speech instead of [i] is noted by Elphinston in *ef* (if), *sence* (since), *set* (sit), *tell* (till). Walker condemns the same pronunciation in *spirit*, and I have found these vulgar spellings: *spet* (spit), Jane, *eggnorant*, J.W., *Clayrender* (Clarinda), R.R. But the lowered vowel was still used by some good speakers. Walker himself admitted the pronunciations *arethmetick*, *elexir*, *redicule*, *rense*, *squerrel*, although deploring them, and Nares said that *i* was pronounced like "E short in *rinse*; and formerly in *cistern*, *miracle*, *spirit*, which are now perhaps more frequently pronounced with the proper sound of short *i*."

Lowe describes the pronunciation *bushop* (bishop) as vulgar, and the same variant vowel seems to have been used in *mullaner* (milliner), W.J. Walker admits a similar variant before *r*, in *stirrop*, *syrop*, pronounced with short u.

*Present-day* [e]. The use of the raised vowel [i] instead of [e] is accounted vulgar by Walker in *yet* and *yesterday*. Spellings showing the same pronunciation in the letters are: *hillyfents* (elephants), *bliss* (bless), *spilling*, *minchioned*, *tinder*, W.J., *sinsibel*, J.W. On the other hand, Nares says that short *i* was used instead of short *e* in good speech in *yes*, *yesterday*, *spermaceti*, and that "Instead is sometimes pronounced *instid*"; Sharp admits the same pronunciation in *yes*, *yet*; Lowe cites *bedstead*, *instead*; and Walker himself admits the variant in *chemistry*, *clef*, and even in *yes*.

Instead of [e], vulgar speakers often used the lower vowel [æ]. Walker cites the vulgar forms *shipwrack* and *yellow*, and Nares quoted *salery* (celery) and *arrand* (errand). In addition there are the following vulgar spellings: *Asquires*, Betty; *wary* (very), *together*, Jane; *refrash*, *axercise*, *taster* (tester), *haven* (heaven), *fathers* (feathers), W.J.; *tamperit* (temperate), *amissories*, T.B.;



*haven* (heaven), J.W.; *latin* (letting), P.P. But the variant was still used in good speech. Lowe recognizes the [æ] in *wreck*, *Brentford*; Gignoux admits it in *Melancholy*, *rendezvous*; Walker cites *errand*, *errant*; and Nares says "a short is pronounced in *celery* (generally), *mesh*, *terrier*, *yellow*, *errand*, *errant*."

*Present-day* [æ]. Yeomans says that "A is rank'd the first letter of the order of every alphabet, but the citizens of London have injuriously converted its eligible pronunciation to that of *e*." I have not found any other eighteenth-century orthoepist who records this general variant, but Walker says "*Catch*, among Londoners, seems to have degenerated into *ketch*," and there are a fair number of *e*-spellings in the vulgar letters, viz. *heaving* (having), *fect*, *merrybones* (marrowbones), *edmiral*, *kettle* (cattle), W.J.; *heaving* (having), P.P. Sharp also gives *Belcony* as a vulgarity. Nares indicates, however, that the raised vowel was widely used in some words, although it was not confined to the lower classes. "Instances of this," he says, "are *catch*, *gather*, *January*, *jasmin*, *many*, *radish*, *thank*." He adds that "some of these are disputable, or certainly confined to colloquial use." Lowe gives two examples: *catch*, *pall-mall*; <sup>1</sup> and Gignoux admits *belcony*.

*Presentd-ay* [ɑ:]. Walker apparently objected to the use of the present-day Standard vowel in a few words. "Pronouncing the *a* in *after*, *answer*, *basket*, *plant*, *mast*, &c. as long as in *half*, *calf*, &c.," he says, "borders very closely on vulgarity." He preferred the lengthened form of the [æ] sound, although he admitted that some orthoepists, including a Mr. Smith the author of "A Scheme of a French and English Dictionary," whom he admired, recognized a back vowel in such words.

I have noted two vulgar spellings which suggest the use of the [ɑ:] type instead of the [ɑ:] type from original *er*. They are: *fur* (far), W.J., and *yeard* (yard), R.R. Although this type was quite common among good speakers in the seventeenth century, there is no indication in the writings of the eighteenth-century orthoepists that it survived in the good speech of their time.

*Present-day* [ɔ]. Walker regarded the use of short *a* instead of short *o* as vulgar in *beyond*, *yonder* (and also in *sausage*), and Nares adds *amlet* (omelette). Yeomans, however, condemned this type of pronunciation as an affectation, citing *Gad* (God), *rad* (rod),

<sup>1</sup> This, of course, was derived from *pell-mell*.

and also *Lard* (Lord). I have only found one spelling of this kind, namely, *pasture* (posture), W.J.

In some words pronounced with short *o* in good speech, vulgar speakers apparently sometimes used short *u*. I have noted the following spellings which suggest this: *pumpidoor* (Pompadour), *scullers* (scholars), *smuck* (smock), *cullick* (cholic), *cunster* (construe), W.J.; *rumping*, *phinumenon*, *guzzling* (gosling), T.B. The use of this vowel, [ʌ], was regarded as correct, however, by Gignoux in *cochineal*, by Hammond in *pothor*, and by Lowe in *wont*. Walker also admits *coral* (by some), *hover*, *sovereign*, as well as *bomb*, *bombard*, *combat*, *comrade*, *pomegranate*.

Walker also regarded the use of a lengthened vowel [ɔ:] instead of short *o* before *th* (and, presumably, *s*, *f*) as a vulgarism: "the short sound of *o*," he says, "is frequently by inaccurate speakers, and chiefly those among the vulgar, lengthened to a middle sound approaching to its long sound, the *o* in *or*. This sound is generally heard when it is succeeded by two consonants, *broth*, *froth* and *moth*, as if written *brawth*, *frawth*, *mawth*." Nares, on the other hand, admits this sound as correct: "*o* sometimes takes a sound resembling that of *Au*, or the broad *A*: this chiefly happens before the letters *f*, *sp*, *ss*, *st* or *th*. Ex. *off*, *doff*, *scoff*, *offer*, and all words that begin with *off*-; *aloft*, *coffee*, *proffer*, *profit*, *prophet*, *often*, *soft*, *loft*,—*hospital*, *prospect*, *prosper*,—*loss*, *cross*, *toss*,—*frost*, *lost*, *tost*, *cost*,—*broth*, *cloth*, *froth*, *moth*." Johnston admits this pronunciation too.

*Present-day* [ɔ:]. As already stated, Yeomans condemned such pronunciations as *Lard* (Lord) as affectations. The unrounding of *au*, that is [ɑ:], is characterized by Walker as "a corrupt pronunciation among the vulgar, which is giving the *au* in *daughter*, *sauce*, *saucer*, and *saucy* the sound of the Italian *a* and nearly as if written *darter*, *sarce*, *sarcer* and *sarcy*." Two vulgar spellings of this type are: *gaze* (gauze), W.J., and *landry*, T.B. Nares, however, says that *au* in *saucer*, *sauce*, was pronounced in good speech with either the rounded [ɔ:] or the unrounded [ɑ:], and most of the orthoepists acknowledge the unrounded vowel in such words as *daunt*, *paunch*, *launch*, *gaunt*, *haunt*, *jaunt*, *vaunt*, etc., although the rounded vowel was also used.

*Present-day* [u]. Walker condemned as vulgar the use of the unrounded short *u*, [ʌ], in *soot*, *bosom*; and several spellings suggest that this vowel was often used in vulgar speech in words which now have the rounded [u] in Standard. Among these are: *stud* (stood),

Betty; *kuk* (cook), *huk* (hook), Jane; *luck* (look), *tuck* (took), *futt* (foot), *cuck*, *stud*, *buck* (book), W.J.; *luk* (look), Mrs. Honour. But this vowel was apparently used by some good speakers, too, for Sharp says [ʌ] was pronounced in *foot*, *good*, *hood*, *stood*, *soot*, *wood*, *wool*, as well as in *blood*, *flood*. Lowe recognizes the same vowel in these words and in *wolf*, *food*, *forsooth*, and Hammond adds *brook*. Walker admits the unrounded short *u* in *fulsome* and its derivatives; Perry gives it in *pulpit* and Johnston in *put*.

Three vulgar spellings which substitute *o* for *u* suggest a pronunciation similar to that now used for short *u* in the Midlands, namely [ɜ], a more retracted form of [ʌ]. These spellings are: Betty, *op* (up); Jane, *grombeld*; T.B., *botcher* (butcher). Similar spellings often occur in the documents of good speakers in the seventeenth century.

The vulgar use of short *i* instead of unrounded short *u* is occasionally recorded. Lowe notes *kiver* (cover); W.J. spells *kiver*, *kiple* (couple), *Ditch* (Dutch), *kimfittable*; and T.B. has *shit* (shut), *skim* (scum). Although I formerly quoted a few similar spellings from documents written by good speakers earlier in the century, the only such variant admitted in good speech is *inion* (onion), which Johnston acknowledges.

Present-day [ɜ:]. The orthoepists suggest that the pronunciation of *ar* in words now sounded with [ɜ:] and written with *er* was dying out even in vulgar speech. Thus, Walker comments that "*Service* and *servant* are still heard among the lower order of speakers as if written *sarvice* and *sarvant*." Elphinston gives *larn'd* as vulgar, and Miss Bloomsbury<sup>1</sup> says *larn* (learn). Among the vulgar spellings of this type are: *insart*, Jane; *sartain*, *consarning*, *sarvice*, *sarvant*, *varsal* (universal), *sarment* (sermon), *Starling* (Stirling), *parson* (person), W.J.; *sarvants*, T.B.; *univarse*, J.W.; *sartenly*, *sarvant*, *sarvis*, Mrs. Honour. It is interesting, however, that Winifred Jenkins also reflects the correct forms in her spellings *pursing* (person) and *survice*. The retracted *ar*-type is admitted by some orthoepists in a few words; by Johnston in *learn*; by Lowe in *serge*, *stern*, and *sterling*; and Walker admitted the correctness of "Sir, your *sarvant*," although he adds that except in this phrase *sarvant* was "a mark of the lowest vulgarity."

Sharp describes the vulgar pronunciation of "thirsty" as *thusty*,

<sup>1</sup> The Cockney maid in Maria Edgeworth's play *Love and Law*.

a form analogous to *just* (first); and Walker notes with disapproval the pronunciation of *heard* with the same vowel as *reared*.

*Present-day* [ei]. Two vulgar spellings suggest a pronunciation similar to that now used in Cockney, viz. *St. Gimses* (St. James's), *chined* (chained), W.J. Nares also records the vulgar pronunciations *flee* (flay) and *fleak* (flake), and Winifred Jenkins writes *fever* (favour). A further minor vulgarism was *crawfish* (crayfish), which is noted by Nares. Some of these pronunciations are recognized as correct, however. Nares says *ai* is sounded like *e* long in *raisin*, *plait*, and Walker gives the same vowel in *raisin*, *flay*.

*Present-day* [ou]. Walker comments upon a vulgar pronunciation of *ol*, describing "an incorrect pronunciation of *Mould* and similar words, chiefly among the vulgar, which is sounding the word as if it were written *mo-oold*; *cold*, *bold*, *sold*, pronounced *co-oold*, *bo-oold*, *so-oold*, &c." Elphinston condemns this diphthong too, and the following vulgar spellings are clearly intended to reflect the same sound: *ould*, *could* (cold), *gould* (gold), W.J.; *ould*, *sould*, T.B. Similar spellings were often used by good speakers in the earlier part of the century and Carter says that *o* before *ld*, *ll*, *lt* sounded like *ou* in *fold*, *hold*, *cold*, *toll*, *bolt*, *bold*. It is of some interest that Walker says that many respectable speakers pronounced *bowl*<sup>1</sup> to rhyme with *howl*, although *bowl* has a different history from *sold*, etc. Walker also describes a vulgar pronunciation of *loam* with the sound of long *oo*, and Tabitha Bramble spells *stone* as *stum*, reflecting a pronunciation still used by some non-Standard speakers.

*Present-day* [ai]. Long *i* was pronounced like long *a*, that is [ei], in a few words; Nares describes *chaynee* for "china" and *Lalock* for "lilac" as vulgar, and the spelling *aydear* (idea) occurs in R.R. On the other hand, Walker and Lowe recognize this pronunciation as correct in "china." Again, although Jane's spelling *obleegd* is apparently intended to reveal a vulgarism, both Sharp and Walker admit this pronunciation.

*Present-day* [au]. Tabitha Bramble has one spelling which appears to reflect the vulgar use of a short *u* sound instead of [au], namely *accunt* (account). Lowe describes a correct variant pronunciation, *grun-sil* (groundsel), which is somewhat similar.

*Present-day* [oi]. The pronunciation of *oi* in certain words with the sound of long *i* was regarded as vulgar by some orthoepists. Walker says "in *boil*, *toil*, *spoil*, *joint*, *annoint* &c. there is a very

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the "wood" in the game of bowls.

prevalent practice among the vulgar of dropping the *o* and pronouncing these words as if written *bile*, *tile*, *spile*, &c.,” and Nares describes *hist* for “hoist” as “a low vulgarism.” Vulgar spellings of the same type are: *surlin* (sirloin), *spylin* (spoiling), Betty; *gint* (joint), *spile*, Jane; *pint* (point), W.J. But other orthoepists admit, although not always gladly, that similar pronunciations were still used by some good speakers. Thus, Lowe gives *boil bile*, *vice voice* as homonyms; Gignoux says “joist” was sounded *jice* and “coin” *quine*; and Nares says “it has been the custom to give this diphthong, in several words, the improper sound of *i* long; as in *boil*, *broil*, *choir*, *join*, *joint*, *point*, *poison*, *spoil*. The banished diphthong seems at length to be upon its return; for there are many who are now hardy enough to pronounce *boil* exactly as they do *toil*, and *join* like *coin* &c.”

*Present-day* [ju]. The chief vulgarism in the treatment of this sound was the omission of the first element. Walker describes “a corrupt pronunciation of *EW*, chiefly in London, where we sometimes hear *dew* and *new* pronounced as if written *doo* and *noo*,” and Elphinston records the same vulgarism, citing *noo* (new), *toon*, *doo*, *dook*, *soo* (sue), *toonick*, *dooly*, *resoom*. Winifred Jenkins’s spellings include two words in the same fashion, *looker* (lucre), *soot* (suit). The old pronunciation *Cowcumber* for “cucumber” was regarded as vulgar by Nares, but was correct for Walker and most of the other orthoepists.

*Unaccented syllables*. The habit of omitting unaccented vowels was regarded as vulgar. Sharp cites the following vulgar pronunciations: *athist* (atheist), *Potticary* (apothecary), *Riccolas* (auriculas), *Carrin* (carrion), *Spanel* (spaniel), *Venzun* (venison); and these vulgar spellings occur in the letters: *famly*, Betty; *cumpne* (company), *ingenus* (ingenious), *natrel* (natural), Jane. A few vulgar spellings also reveal the use of [il] instead of sonant *l*, viz. *umbil* (humble), *littil*, Betty; *anemil*, T.B.; *pepil* (people), Mrs. Honour. Tabitha’s spelling *creeter* also reflects the pronunciation of final *-ture* as *ter*. The reduction of medial *u* was also regarded as vulgar by Walker, who says “we not infrequently hear *singular*, *regular* and *particular* pronounced as if written *sing-e-lar*, *reg-e-lar* and *partick-e-lar*, but nothing tends more to tarnish and vulgarize the pronunciation than this short and obscure sound of the unaccented *u*.” The similar reduction of *-ow* was also condemned by Walker—“the vulgar shorten this sound and pronounce the *o* obscurely, and

sometimes as if followed by an *r*, as *winder* and *feller* for *window* and *fellow*." Elphinston anticipates this in his vulgar phrase "a low feller of the causey," and I have noted the spellings *feller*, *vindore*, W.J.; *windore*, P.P.

There was also a vulgar characteristic of occasionally introducing an unwarranted vowel. Elphinston cites the Pronunciations *umberella*, *propperiety*, *propperietor*. Walker says: "pronouncing *s* indistinctly after *st*. The letter *s* after *st*, from the very difficulty of its pronunciation is often sounded inarticulately. The inhabitants of London, of the lower order, cut the knot, and pronounce it in a distinct syllable, as if *e* were before it; but this is to be avoided as the greatest blemish in speaking; the three last letters in *posts*, *fists*, *mists*, &c. must all be distinctly heard in one syllable." I have noted one spelling which reflects this vulgarism, *two postis*, P.P.

*T* and *D*. The spellings in the vulgar letters reveal the habit, apparently regarded as vulgar, of omitting *t* after certain consonants, viz. *nex* (next), Betty; *obstruck*, Jane; *temp* (tempt), W.J.; *servan*, P.P.; *hopjack* (object), R.R. Similar spellings also show the vulgar habit of omitting *d*, particularly after *n*: *pouns*, Betty; *ornare* (ordinary), Jane; *grinestone*, W.J.; *amirer*, J.W.; *lashipp* (ladyship), *kine* (kind), Mrs. Honour; *hussban*, P.P. Nares condemns *Ornary* (ordinary) and *Rine* (rind) as vulgarisms and Sharp adds *Ilan* (island).

On the other hand the addition of *t* and *d* was also characteristic of vulgar speech. Elphinston cites these vulgarisms: *bacheldor*, *wonst* (once), *gownd*, *sermont*, *drownd*, *scollard*, and I have noted the following vulgar spellings: *surkumfrents*, Jane; *windseller* (wine-seller), T.B.; *wind* (wine), *sarment* (sermon), *drowning*, *sounded* (swooned), W.J.

Although the orthoepists do not regard any of these additions as correct, some omissions of *t* and *d* are sanctioned. Lowe admits *branfurd* (Brentford), *ches'n* (Cheshunt); Hammond gives *Presson* (Preston); and Gignoux allows *A'mun* (almond), *dimon* (diamond), *poscrip* and *ilan* (island).

*TH* and *T*, *D*. Elphinston records the vulgar substitution of *d* for *th* in *Bethnal*; Nares cites the vulgar pronunciations *Bedlam* (Bethlehem), *farden* (farthing), and these spellings occur in the vulgar letters: *furder*, Jane; *furder*, W.J.; *farder* (farther), Mrs. Honour. Sharp also regarded *t* for *th* as vulgar in *Potticary* (apothecary); Betty spells *tree munts* (three months) and *Sixt* (sixth);



and Winifred Jenkins writes *potticary*. It is not certain, however, that all these pronunciations were vulgar, for the pronunciation of *th* as *t* is admitted by Lowe in *Bartholomew's*, *Theobalds*; by Gignoux in *apothecary* and *mithridate*; and by Hammond in *Catherine*, *Dorothy*, and *anthem*. Lowe also says that *farther* was correctly pronounced *furder*, and Gignoux gives the pronunciation of "farthing" as *farden*.

The vulgar substitution of *f* for *th* is twice recorded. Elphinston cites *Redrif* for "Rotherhithe" and Winifred Jenkins sometimes uses the spelling *oaf* for "oath."

*H and GH.* Of the four Cockney errors noted by Walker, the worst in his opinion was "that of sinking the *h* at the beginning of words where it ought to be sounded and of sounding it either where it is not seen or where it ought to be sunk. Thus, we hear not infrequently, especially among children, *heart* pronounced *art*, and *arm*, *harm*." The same vulgarism inspired Elphinston to the description of a young Cockney lady "with her fine air, sweet hies, quick hears, dellicate harms, above all, her tender art, she would give any young man a ankering to halter is condition." Many spellings reflecting this characteristic occur in the vulgar letters. Initial *h* is omitted in *umbil*, *Betty*; *anging*, *as*, *old*, *indrans*, *Jane*; *Umphry*, *air*, *art* (heart), *W.J.*; *ome*, Mrs. Honour; *osspital*, *umbell*, P.P., and initial *h* is inserted in *Hurbon* (Urban), *Jane*; *haired*, T.B.; *hottogon*, *hillyfents* (elephants), *hearth*, *hylands*, *heys*, *halteration*, *W.J.*; *hateracting*, *J.W.*; *heavening* (evening), P.P.; *heys*, *harrows*, R.R. The addition of *h* is not admitted as correct by any of the orthoepists, but they do sanction the omission of initial *h* in a few words other than *hour*, *honest*, *honour*, *heir*. Thus, Walker, following Dr. Johnson, acknowledges the omission in these four words and in *herb*, *hospital* and *humble*.

In a few words vulgar speakers apparently pronounced *gh* as *f* in words where the *gh* was silent in good speech. I have found these spellings showing this characteristic: *thof* (though), *Jane*; *oft* (ought), *thof*, *thoft* (thought), *W.J.*; *soft* (sought), Mrs. Honour. Walker also says that "drought" and "sigh" were vulgarly pronounced *drowth*, *sithe*. Gignoux, however, allows *sithe*.

*N and NG.* It would appear that the habit of pronouncing final *-ing* as *-in'* existed among good speakers in the latter half of the eighteenth century, although some pundits were disposed to regard it as vulgar. Although Hammond, in his rules for pronunciation,

says "g is not sounded in the Ending *ing*, as in *partin* (parting)", Walker tried to differentiate a correct and incorrect use of *-in'*. It was vulgar, he suggested, when it was used after any sound but *-ing-*, it being admitted after this sound as "our best speakers universally pronounce *singin'*, *bringin'*, *flingin'*." The vulgar letters suggest that this habit was vulgar, cf. *sein*, *standin*, *bein*, *stikkin*, Jane; *a Cordin*, *askin*, *exceptin*, Mrs. Honour, etc.

The same letters also reflect the vulgar habit of sounding *ing* instead of *in* or sonant *n*. Spellings showing this are: *chickings*, T.B.; *pursing* (person), *Loming* (Lomond), *mounting* (mountain), W.J.

Elphinston is apparently the first orthoepist to record the pronunciation of *-thing* as *-think* as a vulgarism. He says, "a common Londoner talks of anny think else, or anny thing kelse."

R. A few spellings which omit medial *r* may be intended to suggest that the non-pronunciation of this consonant was vulgar. They are *Laud* (Lord), *forewood* (forward), *kimfittable* (comfortable), W.J. Jane uses the inverse spelling *methord* (method), and Sharp describes *thusty* for "thirsty" as a London vulgarism. Walker found difficulty in deciding whether this consonant should be pronounced. He states that in England and particularly in London *lard*, *bard*, *card*, were sounded *laad*, *baad*, *caad*. He was partly turned against this habit by Cockney, which also omitted the *r*, but he finally decided that "*bar*, *bard*, *card*, *hard*, &c. must have it nearly as in London."

The metathesis of *r* is frequently shown in the vulgar letters: *hundered*, Jane; *partected*, *purseeding*, T.B.; *pursecution* (prosecution), *cunster* (construe), *purvail*, *crutch yard*, *purtests*, *matter-money*, *purtection*, W.J.; *purtest*, J.W.; and Nares says *hunderd* (hundred) was vulgar. Metathesis of *r* is recognized as correct in some words, however. Gignoux gives *apurn* (apron), *constur* (construe), *saffurn* (saffron); Hammond has *Cattern* (Catherine) and Walker recognizes it in *apron*, *citron*, *saffron*.

S and SH. Elphinston comments on the vulgar substitution of *sh* for *s* in some words, citing the forms *cutlash*, *nonplush*, *frontish-piece* (and also *Porchmouth*); and Winifred Jenkins uses two similar spellings, *mattrash* (mattress), *Christmash*. Elphinston also notes the vulgar substitution of *s* for *sh* in *srub* (shrub), while Winifred Jenkins writes *sillings*, *seep's* (sheep's). Two other of Winifred Jenkins's spellings may be noted here: *sin* (chin), *shatter* (chatter).

Lowe, in condemning the London vulgarism *squeedge* (squeeze) anticipates, of course, a habit of Mrs. Gamp.

*W and V.* The interchange of *w* and *v* was the chief vulgarism in Cockney, although it was not confined to the lower classes. Walker says "the pronunciation of *v* for *w* and more frequently of *w* for *v*, among the inhabitants of London, and those not always of the lower order, is a blemish of the first magnitude." One of the earliest appearances of this trait in literature is in Fanny Burney's *Camilla*, where the hero of an itinerant troupe of players doing *Othello* declares he "vill a round unwarnished tale deliver." Many spellings reflecting this characteristic occur in the vulgar letters, cf. *vent wery vell*, Betty; *Villiams*, T.B.; *winegar*, *vitness*, *vax*, *voman*, *willian* (villain), *wally* (valet), W.J.; *wingar* (vinegar) R.R., etc.

The omission of initial *w* is reflected in two spellings: *orld* (world), W.J., and *uman* (woman), Mrs. Honour. Sharp notes the vulgar pronunciations *Awkurd*, *sound* (swoon), Elphinston gives *causey* (causeway) as a vulgarism and Walker held the same opinion of *soon* (swoon). On the other hand Gignoux said the omission of [w] was correct in *awkward*, *quotient*; Elphinston allows its omission in *Edgware*, *Wandsworth*, *Ipswich*, *Goodwin*, *housewife*; and Nares omits it in *harlequin*, *quote*, *quotation*. The omission of [v] in *senmit* (sevensnight) and *twelmonth* was vulgar according to Nares, but Elphinston allows it in *twelvepence* and *fivepence* and Lowe agrees for *fivepence* and *Evesham*, *Liverpool* (pronounced Lirple) and *Sevenoak*.

*WH.* The third of the chief Cockney vulgarisms noted by Walker was "not sounding *h* after *w*. The aspirate is often sunk, particularly in the capital, where we do not find the least distinction of sound between *while* and *wile*, *whet* and *wet*, *where* and *were*, &c." Elphinston, a Scot, anticipated Walker in this criticism of London speech and we find such spellings as the following in the vulgar letters: *wich*, Betty; *weel* (wheel), Jane.

*Voiced and voiceless consonants.* Elphinston gives more information than any other eighteenth-century orthoepist upon the vulgar use of voiced for voiceless consonants, although he unfortunately gives few examples. He states, without giving examples, that *p* and *k* were pronounced *b* and *g*; he quotes three words where Londoners used *d* instead of *t*, *padrole*, *pardner*, *proddestant*; and he said that *f* was pronounced *v*, his example being *vew* (few), and that *s* was sounded *z* in *prices*. I have noted a few spellings reflecting the voicing of *f* and [k]: *vind*, Jane; *varthing*, *congeror*,

W.J.; and Nares cites *glyster* (clyster). It is a little surprising that a few voicings are admitted as correct by various orthoepists. Walker allows *decrepid* (decrepit), *debbuty* (deputy) and Nares says *c* was sounded like *z* in *sacrifice*.

Elphinston notes one example of the use of *p* instead of *b* in vulgar speech, *prespyterian*; and Nares mentions the vulgar *grutch* (grudge). There is an abundance of spellings in the vulgar letters reflecting the unvoicing of *v*, *b*, and *dge*, viz. *haf*, *lif*, *fery*, *nefer*, *fife*, *sefen*, *elefen*, Betty, *lacksitif*, *leaf* (leave), *safe*, T.B., *silfur*, *fillitch* (village), *firchin* (virgin), W.J., *canseeif* (conceive), R.R.; *pyebill* (bible), *Tapitha Brample*, W.J., *hopjack* (object), R.R.; *fillitch* (village), *firchin* (virgin), *imich* (image), W.J.; *lotch* (lodge), P.P.; and *Kalloway* (Galloway), W.J. A very few unvoicings are permitted by the orthoepists. Walker gives *sallet* (salad); and Lowe has *figary* (vagary) and *fox-hawl* (Vauxhall).

*Pronunciation of t, d before i, u.* Owing to the influence of the following sound, *d* in *odious*, *duel*, etc., was often pronounced as [dʒ]. Walker says "the vulgar are apt to unite the succeeding syllables too closely and to say *o-jus* and *te-jus*," and he also says the pronunciations *juke*, *rejuce* "cannot be too much reprobated." It is doubtful whether this pronunciation was confined to vulgarism, however, for the analogous pronunciation of *-teous* as *-chus* in *piteous*, *bounteous*, *courteous*, *righteous*, etc., was considered good by Walker, who also says *-tial* was sounded *tchial* in *bestial*, *celestial*.

*Miscellaneous.* The following isolated vulgarisms have been noted: *scrouge* for "crowd" (Nares); *Hankerchur*, *verdit* (Sharp); *east* for "yeast" (Walker), and conversely *yerb* for "herb" (Lowe); *squench* for "quench" (Lowe); *acs* for "ask," *chimley*, *admiraltry*, *bagonet*, *alablaster*, *watsomever* (Elphinston); *mought* for "might," *huom* for "home" (T.B.); *wan* for "one," *axed*, *describing* (W.J.). Gignoux gives *hankerchir* as correct, however.

The foregoing analysis of the vulgar and exceptional pronunciations has been set out in the same way as the discussion in my article "Some Eighteenth-Century Phonetic Spellings" (*R.E.S.*, January and April, 1936) for purposes of comparison. To conclude this article I will state the main conclusions to be drawn from the comparison.

The orthoepists' phonetic spellings of vulgarisms and exceptional pronunciations are so similar to the spellings found in the vulgar letters and also to the spellings quoted in my earlier article that there

can remain no doubt of the genuine phonetic quality of the occasional spellings.

The corroboration, in almost every particular, of the early eighteenth-century spellings by the later vulgar spellings and the orthoepists' comments proves that the many variant pronunciations which were widespread in the seventeenth century and earlier survived in the speech of the late eighteenth century, either as permitted exceptional pronunciations or as vulgarisms. Disproportions in the number of examples of various pronunciations as between the two groups suggest: (1) that the omission of initial *h* and the aspiration of initial vowels and the interchange of initial *w* and *v* were genuinely vulgarisms of London speech, even though some of the better-off merchants may have committed the same errors occasionally; (2) that the unraised [e:] in words which contained [e:] in M.E. had been practically ousted from London speech, standard and vulgar, by the middle of the eighteenth century; (3) that the pronunciation of [a:] and [ɔ:] in words which originally contained *er*, *person*, *star*, *hard*, *clerk*, *Hertford*, etc., had been practically settled in London speech, the distribution being the same as that which now obtains in Standard.

Although the orthoepists admit various exceptional pronunciations, they restrict them to a few words. Whereas the early phonetic spellings suggest that the raising of, say, *a* to *e* and *e* to *i* was pretty common and perhaps general, each orthoepist permits them only in a very few words. That the different writers allow different words suggests that the pronunciations were more general than they wished to admit, but an effort was clearly being made to regularize pronunciation and to restrict the exceptions. The disproportion between the orthoepists' exceptions and the phonetic spellings in the vulgar letters suggests that to use as many irregular pronunciations as did the upper-class ladies of the earlier part of the century was definitely vulgar.

Finally, the extraordinary closeness of the resemblance between the vulgarisms of the second half of the century and the pronunciations of good speakers in the first half of the century proves that the "Cockney dialect" which emerged at the end of the century and was taken over by Dickens and his contemporaries was in the main the survival of seventeenth-century pronunciations which had been abandoned in Standard English because of the eighteenth-century movement towards a regular speech.

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### THE FENCING MATCH IN *HAMLET*

PROFESSOR DOVER WILSON, in *What Happens in Hamlet*, has come at one point to what seems to me an unwarranted conclusion. Discussing the preparations for the fencing match, he writes, "... the combatants make ready and take their stations. Laertes probably enters already dressed. But Hamlet has to remove his doublet and put on a shirt of mail or breastplate, together with a kind of skull-cap and gloves of mail, which were commonly worn for protection in fencing at this time. For a fight with heavy swords, although bated, was no child's play, and terrible blows might be given or received on unprotected parts."<sup>1</sup> His note to the third sentence of this passage is: "*Vide* Vincentio Saviolo's *Practise* (1595) for these details." I can find nothing, however, in Saviolo's book that supports any such deduction, nor is there evidence in other source material that would justify his statement.

Professor Wilson's error is, I believe, the result of a misinterpretation of a passage in one chapter of the second book<sup>2</sup> of Saviolo's work, "That men should not fight without weapons of defence":

... albeit the common sorte thinke the single Rapier in the shirte, or poniard or such like weapons, wherein there is a manifest judgement of death to one, most honorable, nevertheles I am not of that opinion. . . . Moreover, if a Gentleman goe to the warres, wee see him so esteemed of as hee is in the shewe of his armour: and therefore I see no cause at all that a man should in publique matters seeke to be well armed, and in private quarrelles come naked: and me thinketh a man should at all times and in all places shewe himselfe valiant and desire the victorie: which if it be granted, they should likewise in al matters of moment prepare themselves armed. . . . I doe not account it a dishonourable act, to come armed like a man at armes, if the weapons be such as belong to a Gentleman, and hurt not a man privilie.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dover Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet*, Cambridge, The University Press, 1935, p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> "Of Honor and Honorable Quarrels."

<sup>3</sup> Sig. Bb1<sup>v</sup>-Bb2.



The chapter from which the above quotation is taken, like the majority of the chapters in the second book of Saviolo's treatise, is a literal translation of Muzzio's *Il Duello*, 1558;<sup>1</sup> but since "Of Honor and Honorable Quarrels" bears Saviolo's name, we can, to a certain extent, accept it as an expression of his own convictions. We must consider, then, the above passage to be merely Saviolo's own recommendation and not an explanation of a practice commonly followed by duellists, for the Elizabethan duellist fought in his shirt and frowned upon the Italianate custom of wearing a concealed shirt of mail. Furthermore, a breastplate, as Saviolo must have known, for all the protection it offered would have considerably hampered free movement. If further proof is required, we have only to glance at the accounts of actual duels. Arthur Wilson, writing of the fight between Sir Hatton Cheek and Sir Thomas Dutton on the Calais sands in 1610, says, "Then their Seconds searching, and stripping them to their shirts in a cold morning, they ran with that fury on each others Swords, as if they did not mean to kill each other, but strive who should first dye."<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Sackville, in the account of his duel with Lord Bruce of Kinloss in 1613, writes, ". . . in a meadow, ancle deep in water at the least, bidding farewell to our doublets, in our shirtes [we] began to charge each other."<sup>3</sup> Although these two duels were fought in the early seventeenth century, the custom of stripping to the shirt was not an innovation, as scattered references in the Elizabethan dramatists prove.

Up to this point I may, perhaps, be accused of arguing something that is quite beside the question: Professor Wilson writes of a fencing match; I, of actual combat. But Saviolo, in the second part of his treatise, makes no mention of fencing; his whole concern is with the punctilios of honor and deportment on the field of combat. It is in the first book, in which he discusses his own particular type of rapier play, that he describes fencing technique in detail. But here he says nothing of breastplate or chain mail or helmet. The reason for this omission is, I believe, obvious: so far as I know there is no evidence that they were used in the fencing schools. Masters of fence, voluntarily or involuntarily—and I think that there is more

<sup>1</sup> See Ruth Kelso's "Saviolo and His Practise," *Modern Language Notes* (1924), XXXIX, 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain, Being the Life and Reign of King James the First* (1653), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Steele's *Guardian* No. 133 in Chalmers' *British Essayists* (London), 1817, XVIII, 59.

of a case for the latter—seem to have approximated, in their teaching, the conditions of an actual duel, except for the bated weapons. I say *involuntarily*, because what was needed more than anything else was a mask for face protection. If breast armour were permissible on the field of honour, of what use was instruction in body thrusts? But protection for the face would in no way have limited the efficacy of their teaching and it would have saved the eyeballs of many a pupil and master. Arthur Wilson<sup>1</sup> tells how a young Scot, Lord Sanquhar, destroyed the eye of his fencing teacher, John Turner. This must have been a common occurrence, for a blunted weapon, although it cannot cut, can put out an eye.

But suppose we admit that Hamlet and Laertes wear protective armour. If they do, Professor Wilson has fallen into an obvious inconsistency when he says that Hamlet, incensed by Laertes' foul play, "has run his man through with the point that had already wounded himself" before Osric can intervene.<sup>2</sup> How can Hamlet run Laertes through if the latter is protected by the conventional breastplate or shirt of mail, unless Professor Wilson means that Hamlet ran Laertes through the thigh or the arm?

Professor Wilson goes on to say that "a fight with heavy swords, although bated, was no child's play, and terrible blows might be given or received on unprotected parts." Here he seems to be confusing sword-and-buckler fight, the chief exponent of which was George Silver,<sup>3</sup> and rapier play. The rapier was a thrusting weapon; the English sword a striking one. In rapier fight only the point and the cutting edges on both sides of the blade close to the point were used; in single-sword-play or sword-and-buckler fight the edge was used almost exclusively. As for comparative weight, I believe the rapier was by far the lighter of the two.

Finally, I must take issue with Professor Wilson on the question of the use of the mailed gauntlet in *Hamlet*. Saviolo mentions "the gauntlet or glove of maile" only once,<sup>4</sup> and this is in his description of single rapier play, where the mailed glove is used in place of a dagger to ward thrusts. That Professor Wilson is aware of this use of the glove is apparent in his discussion of types of sword play possible at that period.<sup>5</sup> Why, then, does he suggest that similar

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> See *Paradoxes of Defence* (1599).

<sup>4</sup> Bk. I, sig. F3, verso.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

hand coverings were worn in rapier and dagger fence? Leather gauntlets might possibly have been used, but mailed ones only at the expense of firm grips on poinard and rapier hilts.

In short, I am inclined to think that Professor Wilson has made the mistake of exaggerating the importance of Saviolo's book as source material for all fencing matters in Elizabethan England, a mistake common in recent years.

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### AN OMISSION IN THE FOLIO TEXT OF *RICHARD III*

ALTHOUGH in general the Folio text of *Richard III* adds a great deal to that of the Quartos and omits little,<sup>1</sup> there is one rather important hiatus in the Folio version. In Act IV, Scene ii, ll. 102-121<sup>2</sup> there is "one of the most effective theatrical moments of the play."<sup>3</sup> Here is told the story of Buckingham's importunity even after having refused to do the bidding of the king in the matter of the princes, his insistence on the honours promised him, and his characterization by Richard as a Jack that "kep'st the stroke betwixt thy begging and my meditation." All this is deleted in the Folio. Why?

Various shifts have been made at excusing the cut. Spedding remarks that after all "the scene reads very well without it,"<sup>4</sup> Daniel suggests that "it was never in the original draught of the play; that it was in fact, in theatrical parlance, a 'bit of fat' inserted in the Q. version for the benefit of the chief actor, when that version was put on the stage."<sup>5</sup> Spencer, a recent editor, though finding it the one addition in the Q. not explainable on the basis of "actor's gags," proposes the theory that Shakespeare himself omitted the

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. A. H. Thompson (*Tragedy of King Richard the Third*, London, 1907, pp. ix, x), the Folio adds 228 lines of varying lengths to previous texts while it omits twenty-three ordinary and nineteen short lines.

<sup>2</sup> Line references throughout are to the Student's Cambridge Edition of *Shakespeare's Complete Works*, edited by W. A. Neilson, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer, Hazelton, *Richard III*, Boston, D. C. Heath, 1933. Quoted in *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1934, p. 546.

<sup>4</sup> *New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1875-6, London, Trübner, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel, P. A., Griggs' Facsimile Edn. of *Richard III* Q1, 1885, p. ix.

passage upon revision because it somehow obscures the essential significance of the scene.<sup>1</sup> Aside from the question as to whether it actually does obscure anything of dramatic value, Mr. Spencer would seem to be under the necessity of showing reason to believe that Shakespeare was in the habit of sacrificing "good theatre" to technical considerations.

Pickersgill says of the passage, "Who . . . does not feel that the omission of these lines is a real loss?" He continues to deal with the supposition that their removal was the result of Shakespeare's own revision, pointing out that some poets (Milton, for example) could not judge the comparative effectiveness of the various parts of their own work. But he adds, ". . . if, on the other hand, there is offered an alternative supposition, which is more probable, surely it is only more reasonable to prefer the latter."<sup>2</sup> His own contribution is the hypothesis that the lines were marked out by a corrector of the Folio copy on account of their falling short of metrical regularity, oblivious of the fact that upon such grounds the later plays would have been maimed by the "corrector" beyond recognition.

It is at least obvious that the passage was not dropped by printer's error, for the Folio evidently alters the line immediately following the gap in order to effect a necessary link with l. 101. Absolute proof in support of any explanation will probably never be produced. It seems not unlikely, however, that, here as elsewhere in the same text, we may see the influences of official censorship.

Collier supposes that III. vii. 219-220 were probably altered by the Master of Revels, the oath "Zounds!" being objectionable.<sup>3</sup> Daniel states categorically, "that the censor has been busy with the F. appears in Act I, Scene iv, ll. 194-5:

I charge you as you hope to have redemption  
By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins," etc.

reduced in the F. to:

I charge you as you hope for any goodness . . .

line 195 being struck out altogether."<sup>4</sup> These are only two instances among perhaps a dozen alterations explained most logically as

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, u.s., p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Furness' *Variorum of Richard III*, 1909, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel, *op. cit.*, p. x. By an error in printing Daniel refers to ll. 184-5.

attempts to avoid offence which might be taken as disregard of the act of 3 James, "To restrain the abuses of Players."

It is not necessary to argue, as do Collier and Daniel, that the alterations were the work of the Master or of an official censor. It is enough to note that they indicate either official censorship or a revision by a cautious editor guided by the principles of Buck or Herbert. In any case, it would seem we have clearly to recognize that rather elaborate care was taken to protect the Folio text from possible disapproval by the government. May this shed any light on the major omission under discussion?

It is well known that in addition to deleting oaths the censorship of the early seventeenth century was mainly concerned with eliminating passages which either directly or indirectly suggested the contemporary scene, particularly if a chain of association might possibly be expected to conjure a picture of James or his court.<sup>1</sup> Now, a censor or a wary editor of *Richard III* in 1623 might well have scented such an association in IV. ii. 101-121, for England had at the time a Duke of Buckingham, one exposed to the envy of the nobility as "the sole peer of that exalted rank in England."<sup>2</sup> Created Duke on May 18 of that year, George Villiers had worn the title in solitary splendour throughout the proceedings in Spain, from which proceedings he returned a month before the Folio appeared.

Would the lines under discussion have called up in the minds of English readers in 1623 an association with George Villiers? An answer in the affirmative is indicated by the fact that he, as well as his predecessor in the title, was ambitious, grasping, and importunate. He had fattened himself and his family on the properties of Raleigh and Bacon, which he had begged from the king. He had been granted the deceased queen's palace and her choicest diamonds. He was later to be characterized by balladists as an "avaricious actor," a "consumer of the kingdome store." In one popular poem his ghost is made to say, "And what I saw, I seized upon."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even passages written in another era were suspect. Note the case of the printer sent to Bridewell for reprinting a ballad that was printed "before he was born." See Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640*, p. 85. For cases of censorship on principles described, see pp. 94-193. Note the censor's objection to the line "You can apply this" in *Barneveldt* (1619).

<sup>2</sup> Aiken, *Lucy, Court of James I*, London, 1822, p. 364.

<sup>3</sup> *Percy Society Publications*, vol. 29, pp. 64, 65, 39.

So nearly had the King's grants to Buckingham (and through him to his family) touched the people, that Parliament in 1621 had set up a chase that might have run him to earth had he not turned to run with the hounds. That the Duke had at last presumed too far upon his master's favour was the belief of courtiers of consequence in October, 1623. In the Spanish affair, he, like the earlier Buckingham, had dared to obstruct the King's cherished plan; yet he returned to court to renew upon James demands which were certainly as regular as the strokes of any "jack-of-the-clock." Anticipation of a further parallel that was not realized is indicated by the fact that both the Lord-Keeper and the Lord-Treasurer confidently expected his fall, and in consequence made attempts to establish themselves with the King, independent of their former patron.<sup>1</sup>

Hence it may be argued, especially since the suggestion harmonizes with the psychology of the age, that at the time of the appearance of the Folio the scene in our play which describes the callous importunity of a grasping favourite who had made the error of crossing His Majesty's will might easily have been construed topically.<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the same agent who edited the passages containing oaths may have had a hand in the revision here, with the same purpose of avoiding offence. At any rate, since other explanations of the deletion are not entirely satisfactory, it may very well be that official disapproval or the fear of such disapproval is the "alternative supposition" called for by Mr. Pickersgill.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aiken, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> A commentary of the psychology of the time is found in the passages positively known to have been struck out by the censor in such plays as *Sir Thomas More*, *Barnevelt*, *Second Maiden's Tragedy*, *1 Richard III*, and *Honest Man's Fortune*. See Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses*, Oxford, 1931. One recalls, also, that Cibber's version of *Richard III* suffered the loss of its entire first act because Killigrew feared the killing of Henry VI would remind the people of King James, then in France. *King Lear* was also suppressed during the insanity of George III.

<sup>3</sup> [Mr. Griffin does not comment upon the omission from the Folio text of the lines concerning the prophesy of a bard of Ireland that the King should not live long after he saw Richmond, which immediately precede the rebuke of Buckingham for his importunity. It seems much easier to imagine a reason for the omission of the prophesy, for in view of the superstitious nature of James I it would surely have been most impolitic to stage or put in print what might well have been taken to suggest danger in his palace of Richmond, especially after the death of Queen Elizabeth had actually occurred there. If the prophesy passage were omitted for such a reason as this, it seems not at all unlikely that the lines which



## TRACTS FROM JOHN DONNE'S LIBRARY

THE late Sir Edmund Gosse, while attempting to add to the evidence concerning Donne's services to Bishop Morton, wrote the following paragraph :

Evidence of Donne's activity in working for Morton still exists in the shape of various controversial pamphlets on which are found his signature or slight observations in his handwriting. Among those which have passed through my hands are the tract of Ormerod, printed in 1605, and containing a discussion of the relative merits of Anabaptists and Papists ; Sutcliffe's *Subversion of Robert Parsons' confused and worthless Work*, 1606 ; and William Perkins' *Second Part of the Reformation of a Catholic*, 1607. Donne possessed, moreover, Hill's *Defence of Christ's Descent into Hell* and Covell's defence of Hooker. . . . These pamphlets bear indications of careful reading and reference on their possessor's part, and are interesting as bearing out, in an unexpected way, the accuracy of Walton's account of Donne's relations with Morton.<sup>1</sup>

All of the items which Gosse mentioned are among nine tracts, bound together in limp vellum, now in the Harvard College Library (shelf-mark, Nor 5200).<sup>2</sup> On the first blank leaf of this volume Professor Charles Eliot Norton has written : " None of the notes in this volume are, I think, by Donne ; but the signature on the title-page of the second tract and the epigram & signature on the page opposite the title-page of the seventh tract are in his handwriting."

The second tract in the volume is Oliver Ormerod's *The Picture of a Puritane* (London, 1605). Donne's signature appears on the extreme lower right-hand corner of the title-page, and his motto, " Per Rachel ho seruito et non per Lea," was written at the top, but the page has been trimmed and most of the motto is gone. The seventh item is William Covell's *A Iust and Temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Policie : Written by M. Richard Hooker*

followed should be struck out as well, either because the extent of the necessary omission had not been clearly indicated, or for reasons such as Mr. Griffin has suggested.—Ed. R.E.S.J.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (2 vols., London, 1899), I. 150.

<sup>2</sup> There are ten, according to the old ink numbers on the tracts, the preface of the sixth being given a separate number. Dr. Geoffrey Keynes, *A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne* (Cambridge University Press, 1932), treats them as ten : Nos. 281, 293, 300, 308, 309, 311, 318, 322, 323, 331.

(London, 1603). On Sig. A1<sup>v</sup> (the blank leaf opposite the title-page) the following is written in Donne's hand :

*Ad Autorem*  
*Non eget Hookerus tanto tutamine ; Tanto*  
*Tutus qui impugnatur sed foret <sup>u</sup>Axilio*  
 J : Donne <sup>1</sup>

The correction of *Auxilio* is characteristic of Donne, who evidently wrote very hastily.

These two tracts, then, certainly either belonged to Donne or passed through his hands. Evidence for his ownership of the other seven would have to rest upon the marginalia and the binding. Gosse asserted that the tracts contained comments in Donne's hand, and Dr. Keynes, in his bibliography, listed those upon which Donne's signature is not found because they are bound with the two which were Donne's. A careful examination of the volume fails to justify either Gosse's assertion or Dr. Keynes' implied inference.

If Donne had placed his signature in the volume after it was bound, he would have put it on the first title-page or possibly on all title-pages, certainly not on the second and seventh alone. The volume has, moreover, been trimmed by a binder since Donne wrote his motto at the top of the title-page of the second tract, and it is only a little less certain that part of the *N* in *Non* in the epigram on Hooker has been trimmed away. Clearly these tracts were bound after Donne wrote in two of them. They may, of course, have been bound for him, but it is equally if not more probable that they were bound for a later owner who has left extensive marginalia on most of the tracts and a table of contents on the last leaf of the volume. His handwriting is quite distinct from Donne's, and the content of his marginalia precludes the possibility that Donne was responsible for them. There are a few other marginalia and a number of marks, but none of these appears to be by Donne.<sup>2</sup> We may decide, then, that Ormerod's *The Picture of a Puritane* once belonged to Donne,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gosse, i. 270 ; Keynes, p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> I have been in doubt about only one line. The sixth tract, [William Bishop], *The Second Part of the Reformation of a Catholike Deformed by Master W. Perkins* (1607), has, on Sig. Aa4<sup>v</sup>, a line supplied from Calvin's *Harmony of the Gospels* in what might be Donne's hand, but it is much finer and lighter than his usual writing.

that Covell's defence of Hooker was once in his hands, but that there is insufficient evidence for associating any of the other seven tracts in this volume with Donne.

It is well to employ extreme caution about marginalia supposed to be Donne's. Except for his signature and motto, most of the books which belonged to him were left clean.<sup>1</sup>

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### A NOTE ON MILTON'S *ART OF LOGIC*

MILTON's treatise on Logic, *Joannis Miltoni Angli Artis Logicae Plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata. Adjecta est Praxis Annalytica* (sic) & *Petri Rami vita, Libris duobus. Londini, Impensis Spencer Hickman, Societatis Regalis Typographi, ad Insigne Rosæ in Cæmeterio D. Pauli, 1672*, is unfortunately of uncertain date. Considering, however, that when he wrote his letter *Of Education* to Master Samuel Hartlib in 1644 his enthusiasm for logic as a branch of education seems to have passed—he subordinates logic to jurisprudence and the Hebrew language (with the Chaldee and the Syriac dialect thrown in) and dismisses it in half a sentence: "Logic, therefore, *so much as is useful*, is to be referred to this due place [at the very end of the course] with all her well-couched heads and topics, until it be time to open her contracted palm into a graceful and ornate rhetoric"—we are inclined to agree with Masson that the work was sketched out soon after Milton took his degree, *i.e.* in the early thirties of the century.<sup>2</sup> No authorities seem to be quoted later than Keckermann (1600) and Downam (1610).

If Milton was writing in the thirties, he was still in the age when Ramus's influence was strong, especially at Cambridge. Twenty or thirty years later Ramus had been forgotten, though his reforms had left their traces on logical studies. Masson, however, holds

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John Sparrow, "A Book from Donne's Library," *London Mercury*, xxv. (1931), 171. Mr. Percy Simpson, "A Book from the Library of John Donne," *The Oriel Record* (January, 1935), is confident that some of the pencil marks in an Oriel copy of Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* are Donne's. There are pencil marks in the Harvard tracts, but they do not appear to be of the same kind.

<sup>2</sup> See Masson's *Life*, vi. 684-6. Milton took his degree in 1629.

that the treatise, though put together so early, had been "worked up" before it was handed over to Hickman, the printer. On the date of this revision he makes no suggestion, but it is clear, as we shall see later, that it was after the author had abandoned belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. He certainly was not an Arian or anti-Trinitarian of any kind in 1629, when he wrote *On the morning of Christ's Nativity* and there spoke of Christ as sitting as "the midst of Trinal Unity," nor as late as 1641, when he closed his first prose-pamphlet, *Of Reformation*, with the tremendous prayer in which he invoked Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as "one Tri-personal Godhead," to look down with pity on the afflicted Church and State of England.<sup>1</sup> Either, then, the treatise was written later than the thirties or it was added to after it was originally drafted.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it is of interest that it expresses some views which we are familiar with in the Milton of *Paradise Lost*.

Milton associates himself in his Preface with Philip Sidney, who had probably come to know Ramus in those last weeks before the latter was murdered and who remained his adherent till his own death:

As I hold with our famous Sidney the man to whom we owe most in Logic is Peter Ramus. Other writers confound Logic with Physics, Ethics, and Theology.

But Ramus has aimed too religiously at brevity. Though he cannot be said to have been wanting in light, yet he is wanting in that superabundance of light which is required in setting forth an art—a failure attested by the number of commentaries on his writings:

I have therefore often thought that the matter for making his precepts more intelligible, which had necessarily to be sought in Ramus's Scholia Dialectica and other people's commentaries, I should, where I do not differ from him, transfer and interweave with his treatise itself. For what do we gain by brevity if we must seek light from some other source?

We see, then, why Milton calls his treatise "Plenior Institutio," and how little it has been studied when the *D.N.B.* can describe it as "a compendium of Ramus's 'Logic.'" He proceeds that in doing as he had done he had been treading in the steps of Ramus himself, who in later works, such as his arithmetic and geometry, had employed a less concise method. Milton had been careful,

<sup>1</sup> Masson, *ibid.*, p. 838.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 340, *infra*.

however, not to introduce any matter that was out of place and inapposite, such as needless rules, which could have no result unless it were that of making the reader perceive the truth by his own intelligence instead of learning it by committing these canons to memory.

Still less have I allowed myself to stuff my text with canons, anything but logical, borrowed from theologians, which they have as it were suborned to their own purpose, as though they were of the essence of logic, and employ in regard to God and divine substances and sacraments : a method which, as they have used it, is as alien to logic, and to reason itself, as can be conceived.

I do not intend to give any analysis of Milton's work or point out where he agrees with Ramus or where he differs from him. I only wish to quote in unsatisfactory English a few passages which may be interesting to readers of *Paradise Lost*.

In Book I, cap. 5, Milton defines Man's Free-will :

Absolutely speaking, God alone does all things freely ; that is, whatever he wills : and he can either act or not act : as scripture everywhere testifies ; but those causes which work by reason and design, as angels and men, act freely *ex hypothesi* ; *ex hypothesi*, of course, of the divine will, which in the beginning gave them the power of acting freely. For liberty is the power of doing or not doing this or that. That is, unless God has willed otherwise, or compulsion assails them from some other source.

In the same chapter he speaks of Fate and Providence :

Fortune is a name . . . fashioned by the ignorance of causes ; for when anything has happened contrary to design and expectation, it is commonly called Fortune. As Cicero says in Lactantius, *Instit.* III. 29 : "The ignorance of things and causes has led to the name Fortune." And Juvenal writes, not without point :

"A divine power is not wanting, if we have prudence, but we make thee, Fortune, a goddess, and give thee a place in the sky."

Certainly she is to be placed in the sky, but we must change her name and call her "divine providence." Whence Aristotle writes, *Phys.* II. 4 : "some hold fortune for a cause, but one unknown to human intelligence, like something divine." And Cic., *Acad.* I : "the providence of God as it affects men is sometimes called fortune because it brings about many things unforeseen and undreamt of by us on account of the obscurity of the causes and our ignorance of them." But providence is the first cause of all things, whether their secondary causes be known or unknown, and if to providence you add necessity, is wont to be called Fate. However, on providence theology will speak better than logic. This only by the way—that fate or God's decree compels

no one to do wrong, and from the hypothesis of divine foreknowledge it follows that all things are certain, not necessary. Cicero therefore is not to be excused in *Pro Ligario*<sup>1</sup> when he says, "a certain fatal calamity seems to have occurred and seized on the unforeseeing minds of men, so that no one should wonder that human plans were overcome by a divine necessity." He speaks much more rightly elsewhere: "we must make allowance for necessity."<sup>2</sup>

So in the poems while Fortune is identified with God's providence, the latter is not allowed to limit Man's Free-will.

*Cf. P.R., IV. 314, etc. :*

[Greek philosophers] to themselves  
All glory arrogate, to God give none;  
Rather accuse him under usual names,  
Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite  
Of mortal things.

*S.A., 667, etc. :*

God of our Fathers! what is Man,  
That thou towards him with hand so various—  
Or might I say, contrarious?—  
Temper'st thy providence through his short course.

*P.L., II. 557, etc. (of the Fallen Angels) :*

Others apart sat on a hill retired,  
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high  
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will, and Fate,  
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

*P.L., III. 106, etc. (God speaks) :*

What praise could they receive,  
What pleasure I from such obedience paid,  
When Will and Reason (Reason also is Choice)  
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoiled,  
Made passive both, had served Necessity,  
Not Me? . . . They themselves decreed  
Their own revolt, not I. If I foreknew,  
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault . . .  
I formed them free, and free they must remain  
Till they enthrall themselves.

*P.L., v. 526, etc. (Raphael speaks) :*

[God] ordained thy will  
By nature free, nor overruled by fate  
Inextricable, or strict necessity.

In Book I, cap. 7 :

Things singular or individual . . . differ from one another in number as everyone allows. But what else is it to differ from one another in

<sup>1</sup> VI. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *De Off.* II. xvi. 56. The words "veniam necessitati dare" are translated from Aristotle.



number but to differ in their single forms ? For number, as Scaliger says rightly, is an affection consequent on essence. Things therefore that differ in number, differ also in essence and in vain would they differ in number, unless they differed also in essence. Let theologians be awake to this point.<sup>1</sup>

(Does this refer to the doctrine of the Trinity ?)

In Book II, cap. 3 :

"A true axiom [proposition] is contingent or necessary. . . . So judgment of a contingent truth is called opinion" (Ramus), which in the case of things past and present can be certain to man, but naturally not to the same extent of things future. But to God, though it is not true, as is commonly accepted, that all times are present, for he can change things present, but not things past, opinion still does not attach to God, because by means of causes, he knows all things equally. . . . But, you will say, things past and present are not contingent but necessary, because they are immutable, for what is done cannot be rendered undone, and whatever is, so long as it is, must be of necessity. My reply is that it is necessary that what has been should have been and that what is, should be, and yet it does not follow that what has been or is, should therefore be strictly necessary.

Cf. *P.L.*, III. 77, etc. :

Him God beholding from his prospect high  
Wherein past, present, future he beholds.

*P.L.*, IX. 926, etc. (Adam speaks) :

But past who can recall, or done undo ?  
Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate !

In the same chapter :

Enunciations are commonly divided into  
*exclusives*, marked by *only*, etc., as "faith alone justifies,"  
*exceptives*, marked by *except*, *unless*, *but* . . . as "no one but you is wise,"  
and *restrictives*, marked by *in so far as*, etc., as man *so far as he is an animal* feels.

And an *exclusive* relates to *subject* or *predicate* : to a subject, in as much as when an exclusive note is prefixed, it excludes all other subjects from the predicate. But reason will have dictated this rule in vain if certain modern logicians, and especially Keckermann, shall be free to upset it utterly by devising a canon for the special purpose. *The exclusive of the subject*, he says, *does not exclude concomitants, as Only the Father is truly God*. Here, he says, *a concomitant is not excluded, the Son and the Holy Ghost*. But who does not see that this canon has been foisted in to make mockery of that illuminating passage St. John, xvii. 3.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Evigilent hic theologi."

<sup>2</sup> "Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."

Still more useful is his canon of restrictive enunciation, which he gives in Book II, cap. 4 (the restrictive by the way is that which shows how far the subject agrees with the predicate); a *contradictory predicate* he says, *cannot be reconciled to the subject by any limitation*. (From Aristotle, *Top.* II, last chap., section 4.<sup>1</sup>) What could be clearer? And yet people have been found who having interposed some small distinctions maintain that *an accident can exist without a subject* (which is a contradiction) in the Lord's Supper. And again, who by certain imaginary little distinctions similarly contradict themselves in arguing that *Christ's human nature and even his body is infinite*. But let us drop the paradoxes of Theologians and return to the precepts of logic.

Milton speaks of Christ in the terms authorized by the Bible. It is noticeable, however, that while in his Nativity Ode of 1629 and in his pamphlet of 1641<sup>2</sup> he implies his acceptance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, no statement of the kind occurs in his later poems, in which no such word as "Trinity" is to be found.

Cf. Nat. Ode, ll. 11, 12 :

That glorious form, . . .  
Wherewith he wont at Heaven's high council-table  
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,  
He laid aside.

*P.L.*, III. 303, etc. (God speaks) :

Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume  
Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own,  
Because thou hast, though throned in highest bliss  
Equal to God, and equally enjoying  
God-like fruition, quitted all to save  
A world from utter loss, and hast been found  
By merit more than birthright Son of God,—  
Found worthiest to be so by being good,  
Far more than great or high ; because in thee  
Love hath abounded more than glory abounds.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> "What is absolutely impossible is in no respect rendered possible."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 336, *supra*.

## REVIEWS

**The Play of Antichrist from the Chester Cycle.** Ed. W. W. GREG. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1935. Pp. c+90. 10s. net.

THOROUGH, painstaking, and brilliant, Dr. Greg's *Antichrist* is a model of editorial craftsmanship.

The edition presents parallel texts of two of the six available manuscripts, Peniarth and Devonshire. Peniarth is a manuscript which had faded and was "restored" by a modern, well-meaning scholar whom Greg names. As it is the oldest surviving manuscript of *Antichrist*, and as it is in sad condition, Greg prints many palaeographical notes at the foot of the page. In a lower range of notes, this manuscript is collated with MS. H, its nearest relative. The corresponding space at the foot of the opposite pages, below the text of MS. D, carries an upper range of palaeographical notes and a lower one with a complete collation of all manuscripts. This device of separating other matters from the collation proper is one which will probably recommend itself to other editors.

It would be pleasant to say that this is the final text of this play, that no further work need be done on it, but the Preface states that the text was set up in 1914. Since that time ultra-violet lamps have extended our vision; and it may well be that more can be learned about the text of Peniarth than even the patience and skill of Greg have given us.

The present reviewer had independently transcribed the Devonshire manuscript and collated it with all others before Greg's *Antichrist* appeared, and takes it as a compliment to his own accuracy that, except for the normalized spelling of the edition, he cannot find a single variant between Greg's transcript and his own. There are, however, a few discrepancies between his collation and mine. I am much afraid that the entire blame is to be laid at my door, but as I am unable to check the manuscripts at this time, I shall

present a list of possible additions to his collation for what they may be worth :

SD *after* 56 danielis decimo tertio] danieles R : *omit* P : dameles  
dicimo tercia et dicitt W

64 alonne] aboute W

107 nowe] no B

SD *after* 120 meae] me PRW

regna] Ragula R : Ragna W

160 eye] ioye R

197 mycle] much B

208 deuise] (?) demise B

266 shrewe] shewe B

270] *after* 271 R

285 thinge] thinges B

347 into] to B

367 put] put put R

375 to] in W

434 lord] all R

511 and] an RW

512 full] fully W

540 some] soone R

641 shalt] shall BW

697 and] *omit* B

As none of these items are of any serious importance, and as the only other discrepancies between Greg's collation and my own concern the merest trifles in spelling, the only possible conclusion is that both collations must be substantially accurate. Further, I have been so impressed by the care which Greg has lavished upon this work that I am entirely willing to believe that all of the items listed above represent errors of my own.

The apparatus of *Antichrist* is complete. From the Preface and the much-in-little of the "Note on the Legend of Antichrist" at the beginning to the Notes and Word Index at the end, it leaves nothing to be desired. I have had the pleasure of going through the fifteen pages of finely printed Notes with some care. Considering that the play consists of only 725 lines, they are voluminous, and they display a wealth of palæographical and editorial scholarship. There seems to be only one slip: Greg explains the word *greete*, l. 143, as meaning "*grate*, the railing or grid closing a tomb or vault." The word comes from the passage in which Antichrist pretends to die and rise again. The Third King says :

Take we the bodye of this sweete  
and burye hit lowe vnder the greete.

Although the scene is apparently within a temple, the *O.E.D.* explanation of the word as meaning sand or "grit" would seem more acceptable, especially as the same word is used with the latter meaning in Play VII, 75 :

with great gravell and greet  
I scoure an ould panne.

This slip, however, is unimportant, except that Greg uses the word (Introduction, p. lxxxii) as evidence for the age of the play.

*Antichrist*, especially because of matters yet to be discussed, represents a very difficult job of printing, but it is beautifully and accurately done. There is a *furthur* on p. lxi and another on p. lxxii ; aside from such trifles as these, the book seems letter-perfect.

Excellent as an edition of the play, and admirable in its display of scholarship, *Antichrist* is less important as an edition than as a final statement of Greg's method of solving the puzzles of manuscript relationships.

The traditional method of handling these problems is that of working from errors, *i.e.* variations from the archetype. Since any manuscript may have correct readings, whether by emendation, by chance, or by immaculate derivation, relationships between manuscripts cannot be ascertained by their grouping with reference to correct readings. Their groupings with reference to errors, however, if not entirely dependable, at least offer a working basis to the student of manuscript relationships. The method implies perfection of the archetype, and it is woefully subject to contrary findings by individual students. Complex problems such as those presented by the texts of the Vulgate Bible have seemed insoluble. The only persons who have been able to use this method with assurance have been persons of enormous scholarship.

Dr. Greg's dissatisfaction with this method was first expressed in his Sandars Lectures in 1913, published in the *Library* a year later. He then made the proposal that manuscript relationships could be discerned by canvassing the total variants and their groupings without regard to the question whether these variants were in fact errors or not. In 1927, he discussed the higher philosophy, or higher mathematics, of this matter in his *Calculus of Variants*.<sup>1</sup> *Antichrist* illustrates the working of his method down to the last

<sup>1</sup> Oxford : The Clarendon Press.

detail. It has therefore far more importance as an exhibit than it has as an edition. For the first time readers are in position to check the working of the method and estimate its value, for as an isolated document the *Calculus* was very difficult to understand.

Greg was evidently aware of this difficulty and felt constrained to announce in the preface of the *Calculus* that the *Calculus* was not "constructed . . . out of a superfluity of naughtiness," but many of his readers whose heads swam with the introduction of a strange and complicated symbolism into the already complex study of manuscript relationships must have had their doubts. Part of the difficulty of the *Calculus* lay in the use of common signs with new meanings and without explanation. For example, on p. 5 there is the formula:  $xA'ABC + xA'BC = xA'A(BC)$ . The right-hand member looks more like the result of multiplication than like that of addition; but the unexplained fact is that the plus sign does not mean "added to," nor does the equal sign mean "equals." Interpreted, the equation says, "If we may infer an exclusive common ancestor for MSS. ABC and an exclusive common ancestor for MSS. BC, we may express these inferences by the formula  $xA'A(BC)$ ." There is not, and cannot be, any actual addition in the sense that  $2x + 3x = 5x$ . This may seem to cavil at small points, but it is precisely these minor matters that contributed to the difficulty and obscurity of the *Calculus*.

A further difficulty was caused by confusion of terms. Although the book was called "Calculus of Variants," variant is the one term nowhere specifically defined. It is interesting to follow the word through the book. On pp. 9-11 Greg discusses variation, without precise definition, and differentiates between horizontal and vertical variation. The latter, in his usage at this point, seems to be roughly equivalent to error, *i.e.* variation from the archetype, but it is not exactly equivalent, since vertical variation would seem to include variation from an immediate ancestor as well as from a possibly remote archetype. Horizontal variation seems to approximate the meaning of "variants," *i.e.* the conflicting readings of extant manuscripts; but, again, it is not exactly equivalent, since individual extant manuscripts may be derived from other extant manuscripts when, of course, their conflicting readings would represent vertical variation. Greg goes on to lump all variation together, but presently resorts to such terms as "significant variation" and "non-evidential variants."



When he discusses "Types of Variants," pp. 18-20, he is presumably thinking of horizontal variants, but he concludes, "... only those variants which give rise to at least two groups of more than one manuscript each can be described as (genetically) *significant variants*. And only those which give rise to groups all of which are of more than one manuscript can be described as *completely significant*. By *significant groups* we shall understand true groups (*i.e.* of two or more manuscripts) arising from significant variants." Surely the reference here is to vertical variants, since only vertical variation can give rise to significant grouping—or is it possible that there is no such thing really as horizontal variation, and that Greg is up against the old question of deciding how important a difference in readings must be before one may detect an error?

Later, p. 23, we have "the several varieties of variation, namely independent and successive. . . ." Here again there is confusion either of terms or of ideas. These specific classes of variants have not been discussed previously, although on p. 7 "independent derivation" and "successive derivation" were elaborated upon. Surely Greg does not mean that variation and derivation are the same thing? If he does, however, the term "horizontal variation" can have no meaning.

On p. 24 there is the remark, "Turning now to the varieties of variation, we observe that in any particular passage a single variation must, of course, arise at one particular point in the family tree." This is to say, surely, that all variation is vertical. What can it mean then when the same page bears the statement, "Variation being *primarily* vertical, successive and independent variation are notions that apply in the first instance to the relation between manuscripts and their sources." ?<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that all this confusion would yield to a simple definition of the term "variant." As things stand, it clouds the issue all through the *Calculus*.

Greg's claims for the *Calculus* were modest enough: "It is quite incapable of producing any results that could not have been attained by the traditional methods: only it aims at achieving them with less labour and greater certainty." Until *Antichrist* was published, there could be no real testing of the method. Scholars could only gaze at the central thesis of the *Calculus* itself, "silent with a wild surmise," and await further enlightenment. The real

<sup>1</sup> *Italics mine.*

value of that work for the time being lay in its wealth of incidental material. For example, "the ambiguity of three texts" brought to light a difficulty that had harassed many a student, and it offered a philosophical explanation for the insolubility of that particular puzzle. Similarly, the demonstration that all complex variants are "the product of two or more simple variants," and the whole section on "Resolution of [complex] Variants" were in the nature of obvious things that no one had ever been clever enough to enunciate; while Note C, "On Some Common Errors [on the part of editors]," was salutary reading.

*Antichrist*, as has been said, illustrates the working of the method in detail. Greg's method is now seen to be that of grouping manuscripts of a common text by means of simple natural variants, rather than by errors, into variational groups. Having established tentative groups by means of these simple natural variants, he attacks and factorizes complex and anomalous variants, shuffling the factors into their proper places in the groups already established.<sup>1</sup> All evidence for variational groups having been assembled, he now tests these groups as candidates for genetic grouping by questioning their "originality," in other words by asking whether their common readings are in fact those of the archetype or erroneous. If he has established, let us say, PHB and DWR as variational groups, the test of originality will decide whether one or both, or presumably neither, is a genetic group. In other words, he is obliged in the end to resort to the traditional method of deciding manuscript relationships on the basis of error.

It may be said in passing that it is to be regretted that Greg did not give more attention to this matter of deciding originality. Herein lies the greatest difficulty in the whole matter of manuscript relationships. He does, it is true, discuss the tests of originality briefly on pp. lii and liii, but the upshot of the matter is, as it has always been, that this is "a matter where formal proof is admittedly impossible." His later discussion of the originality of the manuscript groupings under consideration is ingenious and admirable; but one knows that opposed results are possible to various students and longs for more than mere probability in the end. Had Greg confined his attention to this problem, one feels that another Moses

<sup>1</sup> I am a little uncertain about this statement as Greg seems to have telescoped several operations into one in the Introduction to *Antichrist* for the sake of brevity.

might have set down for us tables of the law or led us out of the wilderness.

For, when all is said and done, the elaborate machinery by which he decides variational groups does not seem worth the time he has spent upon developing it. As for accomplishing the results of older methods with "less labour," one must comment that older methods must have been slavery indeed. If Greg could require every budding editor first to study the *Calculus* and the apparatus of *Antichrist*, and then to work by the rules set down, he would at one fell stroke destroy ambition; not, if one may judge by many texts in existence, an unworthy end. The future editor must first collate his manuscripts, six of them in this case, with extreme care—if he does it as accurately as Greg has done it in *Antichrist*, he will have proved himself highly competent. Then he must manipulate his variants into variational groups. In line 100 he will have found the following variant:

my owne] myne RH : my none P

As this is a complex variant, it must be factorized (p. xxxi) as follows:

$$100 \Sigma : RH : P = (*\Sigma : RHP) . (\Sigma : RH)^1$$

These factors are themselves anomalous variants which must be listed and again factorized (List 3, p. xxxv):

$$RH : \Sigma - 100 = (R : \Sigma) . (H : \Sigma)$$

$$RHP : \Sigma - *100 = (*R : \Sigma) . (*HP : \Sigma)$$

These factors are now ready to find their way to the Classified List: six more entries.

The future editor might find the following even more wearisome:

Collation

626 lenger] DB : longer  $\Sigma$

nowe thou] DB : thou ne WHP : thou ney R

List 1

$$*626 \Sigma : DB : R = (\Sigma : DB) . (*\Sigma : R)$$

List 3

$$*626 = (*H : \Sigma) . (*P : \Sigma) . (WR : \Sigma)$$

$$626 = (D : \Sigma) . (B : \Sigma) . (WR : \Sigma) . (HP : \Sigma)$$

<sup>1</sup> Sigma is an arbitrary symbol meaning "the rest" of the manuscripts.

## Classified List

D[4]	626	WR[4]	*626, 626
B[4]	626	HP[4]	626
R[2]	*626	DB[1]	*626
H[4]	*626	DB[2]	626
P[4]	*626		

The Play of *Antichrist* has 725 lines only; surely to treat the whole of the Chester series, or any long text, in this fashion would require a lifetime. Moreover, there are several distinct operations which must be performed before the resulting variational groups are even ready for the test of originality, and into each operation, human beings being as they are, mistakes may insert themselves. First we must list all variants in their proper classes, as simple natural, anomalous, or complex. Then we must factorize anomalous and complex variants, even at times shifting the sigma or point of view, and some of the factors must be refactorized—what a mess of error is likely to creep in when this method is used by anybody but a Greg!

Greg's accuracy in handling these variants and factors is astonishing. But even he cannot completely prevent mistakes when the machinery is so complicated. A cursory examination reveals the following:

A] O WR (l. 169). This variant turns up under B:  $\Sigma$  in the Classified List as the factor of an anomalous variant, and under WR:  $\Sigma$ , p. xxxix, as a "natural variant."

worldelye] wordly BH (l. 260). In the collation below P text, the "wordly" of MS. H is said to be "*possibly altered to worldly*," but MS. P has "worldely." List 1, p. xxxi, has this variant factorized as ( $\Sigma$ : B). ( $\Sigma$ : P), and it appears in the Classified List under BH and H.

more] moo BP (l. 663). Factorized under Anomalous Variants, p. xxxv, this yields (\*BHP:  $\Sigma$ ): (\*H:  $\Sigma$ ), and reappears in the Classified List under BHP and H.

The complex variant  $\Sigma$ : W: RH of l. 349 is factorized to (\* $\Sigma$ : WRH). ( $\Sigma$ : W) and appears in the Classified List under W. The other factor, (\* $\Sigma$ : WRH) is not to be found in the Classified List, nor is there any sign of it under R, H, RH, or elsewhere.

Variants collated for P in l. 613 and for R in 682 do not appear in the lists.

On p. xxxvi, under D:  $\Sigma$  [1], 613 is a misprint for 611.

In l. 609, the scribally corrected form of W is used for the variant WHP, but in l. 421, the form of R before scribal correction is grouped with WPR.

One might well discount at, say, five per cent. the liability of the

new method to error in handling, and assume that no very serious dis-alignment would result; but it remains cumbersome to use. There is also the further question whether the long labour of factorizing is actually worth the trouble. Greg has shown by means of tables, p. xcix, based upon

- (1) natural significant variants only,
- (2) all natural variants,
- (3) all significant variants,
- (4) all variants whatever,

"that the same general distribution of error is maintained throughout." If this is so, what necessity is there for the complex machinery of the Calculus? Why may we not depend upon natural variants alone? Surely, since Greg has reached this conclusion for him, the future editor will not need to make use of the Calculus at all.

Greg has averted this conclusion, however, with the statement, p. lxxxviii:

"... we must be prepared for the caprices of chance, and unless the field is very large indeed, it may undoubtedly happen that certain groups, rare in natural variants, may occur with some frequency in resolutions. Moreover, if we look beyond the immediate case in hand to the possibility of applying the method to other and more complicated texts, we must provide for the eventuality that owing to the large number of extant manuscripts and the frequency of divergence, natural variants of the simple types may be exceedingly rare. It would seem, therefore, that we may find ourselves forced to include resolutions whether we like it or not, and we shall be best employed in endeavouring to estimate as accurately as possible the irreducible minimum of uncertainty that remains when all due care has been taken with the operations of the Calculus."

This is all very well, but it only shifts the quarter from which attack must be made. For, as I understand it, the resolution is done with an eye to the groups already established by simple natural variants. If there are no simple natural variants, we cannot factorize with any assurance that the results will be valid. Possibly an example or two will not be out of place:

1. 97 graue] graues BWR

This is factorized to  $(B : \Sigma) \cdot (WR : \Sigma)$ . It might as well have been factorized to any of the following groups:

$(BW : \Sigma) \cdot (R : \Sigma)$   
 $(B : \Sigma) \cdot (BWR : \Sigma)$  or  $(W : \Sigma) \cdot (BWR : \Sigma)$  or  $(R : \Sigma) \cdot (BWR : \Sigma)$   
 $(BR : \Sigma) \cdot (W : \Sigma)$

It was not resolved into any of these groups, however, because preliminary inspection of the natural variants showed the group WR. Had these simple natural variants been rare or non-existent, there would have been no guide to lead us through the multiple choice of factors. Again, the variant of l. 100, my owne] myne RH : my none P, first becomes RHP :  $\Sigma$  and is then factorized to  $(*R : \Sigma) \cdot (*HP : \Sigma)$ . Without a previous knowledge of the group HP, these factors could never have been chosen. In fact, this example and many others that might be given lead one to suspect that the greatest value of the Calculus is the ease with which it enables us to get rid of evidence contrary to our preconceptions. Another example will perhaps make the point clear. The variant of l. 110, kneene] knee B : kny W : ken R, is factorized to  $(B : \Sigma) \cdot (WR : \Sigma)$ , although at first sight one would say that B and W are more closely related in the reading than W and R. But the group WR is already established by simple natural variants ; regardless of what the variant of l. 110 looks like, it must be manipulated so as to lend further weight to that group. Similarly, we have a WR group and an RH group, but we favour WR against RH ; consequently, we allow R when deficient to weight WR, but not RH. What the method amounts to is that having made up our minds on the basis of natural groupings, we can get rid of uncomfortable evidence to the contrary and we can weight the groups by factorizing in their favour complex and anomalous variants. If the natural groupings are not evident, we cannot use the Calculus at all ; if they are evident, the Calculus enables us to add further weight to these groupings maintaining "the same distribution of error throughout." Obviously, then, the Calculus is only a rather unproductive means of eschewing idleness.

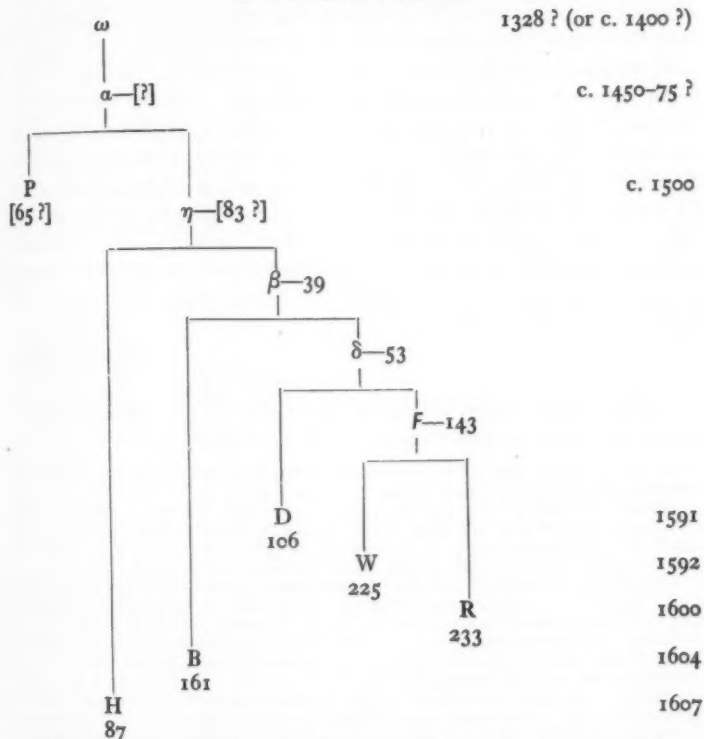
Again, a method to be of value must yield the same results in different hands, but the Calculus by no means destroys the personal equation. Not only can it be used, as has been seen, to weight preconceptions, but there will remain a difference of opinion on the part of editors as to what types of variants are worth recording and differences in the ways of recording them. What is really needed is not a cumbersome method of treating variants, but an examination into the question of what constitutes significant variant, or error, and laws to govern the work of collation. In these matters we are still in the dark.

It remains to ask whether the results achieved by the Calculus



are attained "with greater certainty." From what has been said, it will be evident that in the case before us the only element of greater certainty is Greg's own experience and brilliance in discussing the originality of manuscript groupings. For the manuscript relationships of *Antichrist*, he works out the following schema, essentially the same as he reached in his Sandars Lectures in 1913:

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SIX MANUSCRIPTS



The figures appended to the Manuscripts indicate the total certain errors present in each.

This schema, in so far as Greg formerly seemed to consider it valid for the whole cycle of the Chester Plays, has already been

attacked with respect to the Coopers' and Ironmongers' Play by the present reviewer,<sup>1</sup> but Greg is now willing to admit that relationships may vary for various plays. This admission is very much to the point, for there are circumstances in other plays that would wreck the above system of manuscript relationships. For example, in Play XVIII, the Resurrection, MSS. R and H, and these manuscripts only, have a continuation of nearly a hundred lines. That situation cannot be explained in the light of Greg's schema.

The conclusion of the matter seems to be that we shall not know the true situation in regard to the relationships of the manuscripts of the Chester cycle until all of the plays have been studied with as much care as Greg has given to *Antichrist*. We shall then know how to reconcile conflicting evidence. For the time being, all that we can do is to accept Greg's results tentatively, knowing, however, that behind them stand many years of interest in this problem, together with painstaking zeal and brilliant scholarship. If it seems unlikely that his *Calculus* will find general favour among future editors, nevertheless his Sandars Lectures, his *Calculus*, and his *Antichrist* are all of them so rich in added materials as to form a text-book which no student either of palæography or of mediæval texts can afford to overlook.

F. M. SALTER.

At Professor Salter's request the above review was shown in proof to Dr. Greg, who has sent us the following note :

[I should like to add a few words on the general criticisms Professor Salter has passed on the *Calculus* and *Antichrist*.

Some of his difficulty arises from assuming that the former is mathematical. Being on the contrary concerned with logic, the symbols naturally have not quite the same meaning as in arithmetic. I notice, however, that Professor Salter is quite capable of interpreting them when he so desires.

It had not occurred to me that it might be necessary to define "variant" and "variation." A variant is simply a difference of reading (at a particular point) between two or more texts of the same work. Variation is the fact of differing. What variants are to be considered significant and how they are to be recorded are no doubt important questions in practice, but they have no bearing on the theory of textual criticism.

Vertical variation is variation in the line of descent, the difference between a copy and its exemplar (or an ancestor). Horizontal variation is variation between collaterals : it is, of course, the result of vertical variation, since all variation arises in transcription. I therefore said that all variation was *primarily* (i.e. in its origin) vertical ; but that does not prevent collateral manuscripts from differing ! Throughout my discussion I expressly assumed that all manuscripts derived from other extant manuscripts had been eliminated from con-

<sup>1</sup> *The Trial & Flagellation, with Other Studies in the Chester Cycle*, The Malone Society, 1935.

sideration (as they ought to be), whence it follows that all the variants under review were variants between collaterals and so instances of horizontal variation. I have never used, and never should use, the term "vertical (or horizontal) variant": variants are differences of reading *simpliciter*. It would be correct to say that all variants arise through vertical variation and manifest themselves in horizontal variation. The latter is what we (usually) observe, the former what we infer. Professor Salter is mistaken in supposing that in variational groups (of manuscripts) I am dealing with anything but horizontal variation.

Successive variation is multiple variation in one line of descent, *i.e.* when a copy alters a reading of its exemplar which is itself an alteration of that of the archetype; independent variation is variation in several lines of descent, as when two copies made from one exemplar alter the same reading in different ways. This is explained on pp. 24-5 of the *Calculus*. Variation and derivation are, of course, entirely distinct, though there is some parallelism between them.

Pages 349-50 contain Professor Salter's most serious criticism. There he suggests that my procedure is essentially circular, in that I build up groups through an analysis of variants which is itself dependent on the groups. If I had done anything of the sort I should deserve the worst he could say of me. But he has fallen into misapprehension through failing to observe the difference between those variants which are, and those which are not, "immediately soluble," as I termed it. The former can be analysed at sight without any "preconception" as to the normal grouping, and together with the natural variants they afford the evidence for that grouping. Variants not immediately soluble and anomalous variants can only be resolved after the groups have been established, and cannot be (and never are) used to establish them. Formally the only object of resolving such variants at all is to estimate the relative values of the several manuscripts. But of course it is also necessary, as a check on the validity of the grouping, to show that the proposed resolutions of anomalous variants are individually reasonable, and this I did in my introduction and notes for all cases of any importance. If, as might happen, natural variants were generally absent, then we should have to base our grouping upon those immediately soluble. If natural and immediately soluble variants together failed to provide a basis for grouping, then the problem of the relationship of the manuscripts would be insoluble—by any method. Professor Salter suspects "that the greatest value of the *Calculus* is the ease with which it enables us to get rid of evidence contrary to our preconceptions." I claim that it is the greatest value of my method that it takes account of the *whole* of the evidence, and so recognizes the necessity of explaining in detail how apparent contradictions arise.

Textual criticism is a difficult and laborious pursuit, and it is best to realize at once that there are no short cuts. I do not pretend that my *Calculus* is either simple or easy, but I do claim to have shown in *Antichrist* that it is workable. That the task of applying it in detail to a long text would be formidable, no one can know better than I do. But in *Antichrist* I was mainly engaged in testing it, and it is conceivable that in future cases the procedure might be simplified. Happily my analysis tended to show that reliance on natural significant variants alone (if sufficiently numerous) would give generally reliable results. In a long text it would greatly ease matters to rely exclusively on these, and such a procedure would appear to be legitimate, though it would always involve a certain element of risk.

In practice what I should recommend would be to apply the methods of the *Calculus* to one or more passages of sufficient length, and then proceed on the *assumption* that the relationships so ascertained were constant throughout. If a collation had been made of all the manuscripts for the whole text, any marked difference in the variational grouping would soon become apparent; while so long as the variational grouping remained constant it would be generally safe to assume that the genetic relation did likewise.

Once, however, the genetic relation for several passages had been established (and proved to be the same) an enormous saving of labour might be effected. For in many cases there would no longer be any need to collate more than two manuscripts throughout; it would suffice to refer to one or more others where these primary authorities differed. We should, of course, have to assure ourselves,

by the selection of sufficient test passages, that the genetic relation was indeed constant, since we should lack the automatic check afforded by a full variational apparatus.

It was with the object of establishing such a basis for the Chester Plays as a whole that I undertook the editing of *Antichrist*. I have always realized that the genetic relations discovered for that play would need careful checking in other parts of the cycle before they could be assumed to hold throughout. But in my opinion all the evidence so far available goes to show that the relations are in the main constant, and I have given reasons for that view at some length in the Malone Society volume in which I had the pleasure of collaborating with Professor Salter. It is, of course, quite true that there are *major* differences (such as that in the Resurrection play instanced above) which will not fit into the scheme; but I have more than once had occasion to insist that there is no reason to expect the relation of different *recensions* to be the same as the *textual* relation of the manuscripts. That H and R alone preserve a certain passage is no ground whatever for supposing that they elsewhere had an immediate source in common.—W. W. G.]

**Shakespeare and the Audience. A study in the Technique of Exposition.** By A. COLBY SPRAGUE. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1935. Pp. xii+327. \$2.50; 10s. 6d. net.

**The Janus of Poets. Being an Essay on the Dramatic Value of Shakspeare's Poetry both Good and Bad.** By R. DAVID. Cambridge University Press. 1935. Pp. xii+164. 5s. net.

**William Shakespeare. A Handbook.** By T. MARC PARROTT. New York: Charles Scribner; London: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. viii+266. 6s. net.

DR. SPRAGUE'S three hundred carefully perceptive pages are devoted to an examination of the means variously employed or devised by Shakespeare in making plays suited for acting on the contemporary stage. His examination is not only concerned with conventions (*e.g.* soliloquy and aside) but with Shakespeare's personal manner (*e.g.* his preference, first noted by Coleridge, for expectation rather than surprise, or his methods of exposition or use of choric character). Much of the ground of this enquiry has been traversed before, though even here Dr. Sprague has lighted on a few fresh specimens. But, as always, after taking a new path through the landscape, the landscape itself can never be quite the same again. There can be few readers of this book who will not find their rereading of Shakespeare a little more completely alert than before. The chapter, for instance, called "Testimony," which examines the value of what characters in the play say about each other, points out a small matter of construction and characterization which one may never have

considered seriously enough. Dr. Sprague's knowledge of drama outside Shakespeare is frequently valuable for contrast or comparison.

One or two points suggest themselves. In discussing the Elizabethan aside it might be well to remember that the apparent size of the Elizabethan stage and the actor's capacity to appear detached from his fellows made asides more realistic than one might suppose. Dr. Sprague begins by saying that the public theatres had no scenery (pp. 4 and 26), but a footnote on p. 34 modifies this statement so far as "mossy banks" and such-like go. In view of this footnote, Dr. Sprague should have considered the descriptive poetry of the plays perhaps as idealizing rather than substituting scenery. In examining the effect of make-believe moonlight in Act v. of the *Merchant of Venice*, Dr. Sprague does not note that Shakespeare makes Portia say :

This night methinks is but the daylight sick ;  
It looks a little paler : 'tis a day,  
Such as the day is when the sun is hid (v. i. 124-6).

Shakespeare, as here, seems sometimes to have wished to forestall the objections of Elizabethan realists to the discrepancy between his scene as their eyes saw it and as he imagined it. Another instance comes in *Julius Caesar*, where during the night Brutus is brought the letter that has been thrown in at his window. He can read it because

The exhalations whizzing in the air  
Give so much light that I may read by them (II. i. 44-5).

Mr. David's book has the bubble brightness of a Cambridge prize essay—in an earlier form it was awarded the Harness Prize for 1934. One feels that he is a valuable person to be at work on Shakespeare, but that the plays need a closer contact than he has given them, though not than he is capable of giving them. As a piece of permanent criticism the book is inadequate, since its standards of good and bad poetry are not enough those (a) of dramatic poetry and (b) of Elizabethan dramatic poetry. Mr. David tends to neglect the extent to which "character" determines style. Brutus's soliloquy is not worse than Hamlet's (pp. 45-50). Brutus's is good for Brutus and Hamlet's good for Hamlet. Moreover, Brutus's is good for *Julius Caesar* as Hamlet's is good for *Hamlet*. And one cannot assess the extent to which Shakespeare's plays are bombastic

until one has measured and allowed for the extent to which ordinary Elizabethan speech was bombastic. Only as Shakespeare's bombast overtopped that, was it rateable by contemporary standards as bombast at all. Moreover, one must allow for changes in contemporary fashions of speech. The difference between the bombast of *Romeo and Juliet* and of *Antony and Cleopatra* may be partly due to such changes.

Professor Parrott acts as a useful though not as an infallible guide for the university student. He realizes how much more he must show him than Dowden did, and so there are chapters on Shakespeare's London, the contemporary theatre, Shakespeare's company, his audience, the text of the plays, etc. The shortcomings of the book are principally those of interpretation and are most obvious in the biographical chapters, where a reading of Smart's *Shakespeare Truth and Tradition* would have saved Professor Parrott from errors such as that of continuing to embroider the poor-boy theme, of still seeing Shakespeare virtually as the "Warwickshire peasant." One can scarcely expect a "handbook" to provide good literary criticism, so that Professor Parrott's shortcomings in this way may be more readily overlooked.

GEOFFREY TILLOTSON.

**The Sources of John Dryden's Comedies.** By NED BLISS ALLEN. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1935. Pp. xviii+298. \$3.00.

JUDGED solely by its title, this work might easily be condemned as "just another piece of source-hunting." The term has been one of abuse. It reeks of the doctoral dissertation at its worst, where the scent is doubtful and the quarry hardly worth the run. As a form of sport it is a curious by-product of modern scholarship; and there are few of us who have not at some time or other been its devotee. The pursuit of sources might well be localized to the fields of Restoration drama, for there in the lead we find the doughty old plagiarist-hunter Langbaine, spurred at times less by scholarship than by a singular obsession. To Langbaine a source discovered was a reputation ruined. His particular game was Dryden; and so far did he enforce his theory that the harassed playwright became fearful, turning in his age from the free practice of his great predecessors to that of either disguising his sources or unhappily making



his own plots. For several generations thereafter Langbaine's view persisted; then source-hunting became merely a sterile display of skill on the part of the hunter. Not until recently has the game ceased to be an end in itself. It was Professor Lowes who, perhaps as much as anyone, threw the emphasis back upon the author. The source to-day is interesting chiefly as a revelation of the artist's mind; and source-hunting, in consequence, has assumed a useful place in the art of criticism.

It must be confessed that Dr. Allen's work still smells somewhat of the dissertation, particularly in its insistence upon the originality of its discoveries—this doubtless from the urgency of the Ph.D. requirement "to make an original contribution to knowledge." In its primary form, that is, as submitted to professorial examiners, a dissertation perhaps may be justified in starring every "new" fact or theory with the remark that such and such has hitherto escaped notice. It can only be oppressive when in a finished work for lay scholars the novelty of fact or theory obtrudes itself at every turn, or when the perspective is so far lost in the hunt for sources that scholars ancient and modern are chided for their failure to engage in it with an equal enthusiasm. Thus Saintsbury's "smug inaction as an editor is irritating, even after fifty years. He says nothing at all of *The Annals of Love* and its standing as a source of *The Assignment*" (p. 187). Elsewhere it is remarked that "for some reason Scott bestirred himself, contrary to his usual practice, to examine *Le Dépit amoureux* and *Les Précieuses ridicules* at Langbaine's suggestion" (p. 155). Again, "it seems astounding that some one of the many Dryden scholars who have read Langbaine has not pointed it out." Perhaps so, though when viewed at great distance not too astounding.

Dr. Allen produces many parallels to prove his case that Dryden borrowed heavily for his comedies from the French romances. It was a conclusion worth producing, since it goes some way toward establishing a "new" influence upon the comedy of manners, where influences have been tracked in every other direction. From the same source, he shows, Dryden and his fellows may have derived their model for tragi-comedy: a thing of two nearly separate plots, with, however, contrasting character types; of which the comic acted as foils to the serious or romantic, and the general purpose was not so much dramatic as philosophic, as it was likewise in the romances. Thus the libertine in both was placed in relief against the platonic

lover. That the former ultimately took possession of the stage was merely an English shift of emphasis. The balance was, for a moment, beautifully static in *Marriage à la Mode*.

Elsewhere Dr. Allen is equally successful in showing Dryden the opportunist, or, as he phrases it, "the weathervane of dramatic tendencies," through his various shifts of inspiration from Jonson to Fletcher to Etherege to Aphra Behn, as theatrical favour ran. Generally the critic is sound in his distinctions. His work, in short, is not what one might in derogation term "just another piece of source-hunting." Indeed, its solid merit is sufficient to make it regrettable that Dr. Allen did not hold throughout to his main task, which was presumably the analysis of John Dryden's source material. As he himself remarked :

Some readers of the following chapters may think that I have given too much of my space to calling attention to the errors and omissions of former critics, such as Sir Walter Scott, George Saintsbury, and Allardyce Nicoll. To such readers let me say as emphatically as possible that I realize that—because of the limited nature of my field—I deserve no great credit, for having found mistakes in the more comprehensive works of these men. My reason for calling attention to their errors in my text and footnotes originally was to answer any possible question by those who were directing the work of my dissertation as to whether or not there was new work to be done on my subject, and when I came to prepare the material for publication I decided that the references in question were interesting enough to be retained, even though some of them are not very important.

The judgment seems sound, though one might perhaps cavil at the number held "important."

ROSWELL G. HAM.

**Rochester: Portrait of a Restoration Poet.** By VIVIAN DE SOLA PINTO, Professor of English Language and Literature, University College, Southampton. London : John Lane. 1935. Pp. xxiv+294. 8s. 6d. net.

PROFESSOR PINTO has written an interesting and sympathetic account of a "great, neglected English author." He has examined beneath the legend and prejudice that have accumulated round the brilliant young Earl and shown us Rochester, both man and author, as the victim of his time and of his rank. The materialism of Hobbes and the court of Charles II combined to rob Rochester of his faith and

his health. But Rochester was made for something very different from the life at Charles' court, and Professor Pinto brings out Rochester's growing sense of the falseness of his position, which led ultimately to his conversion. This was at the age of thirty-three, and by then Rochester was already on his deathbed. It is a sad story.

Professor Pinto has drawn on three new sources for Rochester's life and writings. His tutor for the Grand Tour was Sir Andrew Balfour, and the latter's "Letters written to a Friend . . . containing Excellent Directions and Advices For travelling thro' France and Italy" (Edinburgh, 1700) is taken, quite justifiably it would appear, by Professor Pinto as an account of the tour Rochester and Sir Andrew made together. Professor Pinto has inspected the Duke of Portland's MSS. at Welbeck Abbey and quotes several unpublished passages from them. One of these is the admirable beginning of an unfinished prose comedy. He also uses the three letters which Charles Blount addressed to Rochester as the "Right Honourable and most Ingenious Strephon," and which are made more interesting by Rochester's subsequent conversion.

A. TILLOTSON.

**A Catalogue of English Newspapers and Periodicals in the Bodleian Library, 1622-1800.** By R. T. MILFORD and D. M. SUTHERLAND. Printed for the Oxford Bibliographical Society at the Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. 184. 25s. net.

THE publication of this catalogue is a very welcome event. The value of early periodicals to the literary and historical student is being more fully appreciated every year; but hitherto the Bodleian reader has had to search in the General Catalogue for the periodicals likely to be of service to him. Now, without a special journey to Oxford, he will be able to discover what the Bodleian contains in this field and what is missing from its files. That is undoubtedly a great advance, and one is indeed grateful for so valuable an aid to study.

Yet, with a little more consideration for the particular requirements of the student in this branch of literature, it might have been made still more valuable. It is true that the Bodleian shelf-mark has been supplied for each entry and the run of the periodical clearly

set out. But the periodicals have been entered alphabetically. This arrangement is admirable for anyone who goes to the catalogue asking, "Have they got a good file of Amhurst's *Terræ Filius*?" but it gives no help to the student who goes with the question, "What have they got for the years 1720 to 1730?" No doubt the alphabetical order was adopted for good reasons; but the catalogue would have been far more useful to the ordinary student if some sort of chronological index had been supplied as well. As things are he has still to read right through this catalogue to discover what periodicals are available for him in any particular year. True, he can now discover that much more rapidly, but by no means at a glance.

Again, no indication is given as to whether the periodical entered is a daily, weekly, bi-weekly, etc., or whether at some point in its existence it changed from bi-weekly to tri-weekly publication. Nor, for periodicals after 1663, are the names of printers or publishers supplied. This last omission, it is true, rarely lessens the usefulness of the catalogue for the ordinary reader, but the inclusion of such information would materially increase its value for the student of newspaper history. Any transference of a newspaper from one printer to another (as happened for very interesting reasons with Defoe's *Review*) might also have been recorded.

A more serious objection concerns the ascription of various periodicals to editors, authors, and contributors, who, it is claimed, "have been recorded where ascertainable." If this was to be done at all it could surely have been done more satisfactorily. Even with a journalist so well known as Defoe the information offered here is incomplete and occasionally misleading. If he is to be recorded as a contributor to *The Universal Spectator* (for which he wrote only one paper—the first), he should certainly be listed as a contributor to *Mist's* and *Applebee's Weekly Journals*, for which he wrote almost continuously over a number of years. The entry for *The Daily Post* is followed by the words: "Commenced and ed. by Defoe." As far as the present reviewer's knowledge goes, there is no good authority for so confident a statement. In *The Manufacturer* of January 13, 1720, Defoe firmly denied that he wrote *The Daily Post*—"a paper which I neither am nor ever was the author of. . . ." Is the statement that Defoe was editor of *The Daily Post* older than Lee's *Life* (1869), and if so, on what is it based? Such objections as this may seem unnecessarily severe; but this catalogue will undoubtedly be quoted as an authority, and it is desirable that its

ascriptions should be fully justified. Again, no author is given for *The London Journal*; but it must be widely known that in its early notorious period the political essays were being written by John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon. Many other periodicals could be assigned fairly confidently to their authors, e.g. *The Weekly Medley* (W. Bond, cf. *Thursday's Journal*, October 8-15, 1719), *The St. James's Weekly Journal* (R. Burridge, cf. the number for December 19, 1719). An American scholar has recently shown that *Heraclitus Ridens* (1703-4) was the work of William Pittis (T. F. M. Newton in *Mod. Phil.* xxxiii., Nos. 2 and 3). From the same source it is evident that *The Whipping Post*, listed on p. 129 as the work of John Dunton, must also be ascribed to Pittis. When it comes to contributors as distinct from "authors," the number of writers that would have to be mentioned is so extensive as to make it seem inadvisable to list contributors at all. "Editor," too, is a word so hard to define in the earlier half of the period covered by this catalogue that its use perhaps only leads to confusion.

If these criticisms seem niggling or ungracious for a work of such scope, that is not the writer's intention. An immense amount of labour must have gone to the compilation of this catalogue, and one gladly records one's gratitude to its editors. It will considerably lighten the burden of research and it should do much to open up the still comparatively unexplored territory of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century journalism.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

**The Correspondence of Thomas Gray.** Edited by the late PAGET TOYNBEE and LEONARD WHIBLEY. 3 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1935. Vol. I (1734-1755), pp. lx+454; vol. II (1756-1765), pp. xxxvi+455-910; vol. III (1766-1771), pp. xxxiv+911-1,360. 63s. net.

THESE splendid volumes continue the series of definitive editions published by the Oxford Press. In format, typography, illustration, and editing they are worthy of Gray's prose. Future contributions to our knowledge of Gray can come only with the turning up of other letters, which is unlikely, or by the explanation of odd allusions.

Previous editions of Gray's life and correspondence are examined in the Introduction to this. They varied in quality, and though eventually a good number of letters were published, they were

seldom printed as Gray wrote them. Mason, the first editor, in particular falsified the text, by omissions, by interpolations, by combining bits of several letters into a single "letter," by erasing names he disapproved of, such as Tuthill. Mitford, who followed, denounced the methods of Mason, printed many more letters, and collected much information about Gray. But because he was continually getting fresh batches of the letters to edit he never saw the correspondence as a whole. He did not pay attention to the problems of dates, his texts were full of inaccuracies, and they became stereotyped in subsequent editions. Gosse professed to be doing things better, but owing to the laziness of his copyist merely reproduced Mitford's text: he assembled the letters in one order, but did not take enough trouble to make it the chronological one. Tovey was the best of the editors before the present ones: his text, order, and judgment were admirable.

The present edition is a further advance in these directions. It contains about 130 more letters written by Gray than did Tovey's, and about forty of these are now published for the first time. About three-quarters are now printed from the originals; and at last this has been done faithfully adhering to Gray's spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and colloquialisms. There is a detailed list of the letters in each volume. I have checked some of the transcriptions and found them perfect.

Perhaps the most difficult problem facing the editors was the dating of the letters. They have tackled it determinedly. There are few letters in the collection which do not get a note, either to supply a date, or to correct one or to confirm one. All the dates were carefully checked before they were accepted. Even dates given by Gray were not always correct: at the beginning of 1762 he would still write 1761, for example. Wharton, endorsing the letters later, put wrong or alternative dates to some of them; Mason frequently put wrong dates in his edition; Mitford usually accepted the dates or absence of dates without worry. Tovey was the first to start to check the dates supplied to him in MSS. or former editions, but he was not always correct. The present edition redates some sixty letters, and some of them had been printed under their wrong dates as late as 1915 in Toynbee's edition of the *Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton*. The editors have consulted Gray's other MSS. and the College records at Peterhouse and Pembroke, and this frequently results in their being able to be



precise about dates. The revised dates are sometimes of great interest: *e.g.* the first indication we have of Gray's interest in the Professorship of Modern History is now to be dated between 1747 and 1751 (letter 147\*); previously 1759 had been the earliest reference.

The annotations to the letters have been made as brief as possible, but they average about a third of the page. They are uniformly excellent. The allusions put many problems to the editors, even after the work of Mitford and Tovey. The editors have made use of many contemporary sources—Gray's commonplace book, notebooks, and diaries, College archives, MSS. of Cole, Mason, and Walpole, and all the printed material of the time. Some of the points that puzzled Toynbee in 1915 have now been solved, *e.g.* the sources of letter 7. Reasonable suggestions are made about matters on which outspoken evidence is naturally lacking—the Tuthill affair and the various quarrels, *e.g.* with Percy (p. 1,233) and with Chute (p. 482). The twenty-six appendices deal comprehensively with the larger questions that arise in the letters. There are naturally several allusions which the editors have been unable to explain, but there has been an immense amount of light thrown upon the multitudinous topics of the correspondence. I was puzzled, though, by "Cacaturient Gentlewoman" (p. 47), and "hyp" (p. 56) might have a note. Gray, surely, slipped when he described Peterhouse as on the "right-hand" (p. 23) of the road from London. The cross-reference by letter and not by page is justified, but perhaps the page number might have been added to references in the case of the longer letters and appendices (Appendix Z, for example, contains sixteen pages of small type).

No one can edit such a series of letters in so thorough a manner without contributing solidly to our knowledge of Gray's life. The editors have prefaced each volume with a six-page chronological table, showing Gray's whereabouts from time to time, the principal events in his life, and the dates of composition of his works. It is very useful in connection with the letters, but should prove of permanent reference value. It is a skeleton guide compared with M. Martin's *Chronologie de la vie et de l'œuvre de Thomas Gray*, but generally gives the dates in slightly more detail. They are in close agreement except for one or two points: M. Martin says Gray went to London in September 1749, while this edition gives "Stoke (?)." The chronological table omits to mention Gray's five weeks' stay

at the Vyne in 1756 and says also that he visited Chute's house in July 1755 earlier than the 15th. The main contributions to our knowledge are in the twenty-six appendices. (Of these Mr. Whibley has written eighteen himself, and part of four others.) In some cases, *e.g.* that of Gray's removal from Peterhouse, the account summarizes information found elsewhere, but generally difficult problems have been explained here for the first time. They cover various points in Gray's life : his position at Cambridge, his removal, rooms, legal studies, property, illness, and Will. The composition of some of his poems is considered in detail : the Tripos Verses, the Welsh imitations, the Elegy, the Verses on Lord Sandwich and those on Lord Holland's Villa. There are discussions of the relations between Gray and Walpole, Tuthill, Macpherson, and Percy. Appendix T, on "Verses on Lord Holland's Villa," is an excellent example of the skill with which the editors (Mr. Whibley, in this case), can suspect and reveal mistakes reiterated by all the editors before them, and go on to redate a poem and to restore its text in three closely argued pages. (An incidental result of this edition has been a more correct edition of the Poems, revised by Mr. Whibley, for the Oxford Press.) Appendix Q, on "Advice to a friend travelling in Scotland," is here first printed from the original. Originals have also been used for reprints of Bonstetten's letter to his mother, Walpole's memoir, and Nicholls's reminiscences. I should have liked to have seen with them Bryant's letter about Gray, which seems to have been published only in the 1847 Eton edition of Gray's Works. This is getting far from the letters, perhaps, but these volumes are so comprehensive that it seems natural to expect it. There is one detail not clear : Murray and D'Israeli could not both have possessed the letter which was lost through the original being sent to *Blackwood's* (p. 1,236).

I have noticed a couple of misprints : p. xvii (vol. I), for 1747 read 1847 ; p. 1,300, for 1731 read 1741. (The latter may be Nicholls's error, but Mitford gives 1741.) One per seven hundred pages.

A. TILLOTSON.

**The Neo-Classic Theory of Tragedy in England during the Eighteenth Century.** By C. C. Green. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1934. Pp. x+245. \$2.50; 11s. 6d. net.

It cannot be said that in devoting so much patient labour to the neo-classical theory of tragedy in the eighteenth century Dr. Green has been excavating one of the more promising fields of literary enquiry; and though he has made some interesting discoveries he must at times have been sobered by the reflection that the theories he is examining have produced almost nothing in English drama that the world has not willingly let die. Indeed, Dr. Green seems to have found the recipe so much more interesting than the cold puddings which it produced that he scarcely refers to a single eighteenth-century tragedy by name, and devotes almost all his attention to the critical theories to which they so drearily conformed. It is true, of course, that he set out to examine neo-classic theory, and not practice; but it is scarcely possible to present an adequate survey of the one while almost completely ignoring the other. There are, too, a few points on which one could have wished for fuller treatment. Dr. Green has little to say, for instance, on eighteenth-century theories of the correct diction for tragedy. Almost every critic was agreed that Shakespeare's style was most incorrect, and it would have been useful to have from the author of this book some definition of the tragic style which they were prepared to approve.

That, however, is all that need be said by way of adverse criticism. Without trying to popularize his subject unduly, Dr. Green does succeed in discussing neo-classic theory in a thoroughly interesting and unpedantic fashion. "True Wit," Pope wrote, "is Nature to advantage dress'd." And Dr. Green, with his eye on the back-bench of the lecture room, translates into modern English: "Wit was Nature herself—in Sunday clothes." It is no disparagement of his critical and intelligent exposition to say that its most useful feature is the frequency and aptness of his quotations from the critical writings of the period. Anyone working in the field of eighteenth-century drama will almost certainly meet in these pages with some critical utterances—and, it may be, critics—that are new to him. A note on p. 104, "Ed. Ward, II. 500-503" may prove puzzling. The reference is not to Ned Ward, but to A. W. Ward's edition of Pope.

J. R. SUTHERLAND.

**The Sublime : A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England.** By SAMUEL H. MONK. New York : Modern Language Association of America. 1935. Pp. viii+252. \$2.50.

BEFORE Kant finally elucidated the Sublime, there were many attempts to define that mysterious but undeniable phenomenon. The English were not behind other nations in enthusiasm, and while the sublime became too common a word, it is important that the *idea* was kept fresh during the eighteenth century. Professor Monk has here "attempted to find as many theories of sublimity as possible, and to summarize them clearly and truthfully, relating them incidentally to contemporary movements in literature ; to follow out the history of the idea as it was applied to painting and to the enjoyment of natural scenery ; and to view all of these theories as an important link in the chain of ideas that, through various transformations, connects organically the literature of the Augustan age with that of the age of Wordsworth."

Professor Monk shows the development of the idea towards Kant's subjective explanation. It is interesting to see the eighteenth century feeling its way towards psychology while lacking the essential vocabulary. Professor Monk's chief problem was that of organization. The theories overlapped ; they moved the conception forward imperceptibly. The author has skilfully avoided the alternative dangers of lengthy repetition and of forcing different writers too indiscriminatingly into the same description. He has provided a useful survey of one of the chief preoccupations of the century, and has added ten pages of bibliography.

A. TILLOTSON.

**A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Jonathan Swift, D.D.** By Dr. H. TEERINK. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff. 1937. Pp. xii+434. 20 guilders.

A COMPLETE and trustworthy bibliography of Swift has for long been a *desideratum*. Students and book-collectors have, since its appearance in 1908, been forced to content themselves with the bibliography compiled by W. Spencer Jackson, which was included in Temple Scott's edition of Swift's *Prose Works*. This bibliography

is not ambitious in conception, it is far from complete, but it is easy to use and it has simple merits.

After an interval of nearly thirty years Dr. Teerink has hazarded the publication of a large and definitive bibliography. For patient industry, the general accuracy of his title transcripts, and the quantity of entries he has amassed Dr. Teerink's work deserves commendation. He has gone further, for he has been at pains, in a number of instances, to compare with each other differing copies of the same work, noting textual variants, the appearance of cancels, and other peculiarities. But from the beginning doubts intrude. The preface is not re-assuring; and the first of Dr. Teerink's six sections, "Collected Works," running to over 150 close pages, seems startlingly disproportionate to the whole.

The preface explains that in each section a chronological order has been observed, save that sets of volumes and succeeding editions of the same work have been kept together to show their connection and facilitate reference, "while introductions, observations, and notes serve to elucidate the text in several places." Despite Dr. Teerink's hope that the result may prove "in a sense a history" and not a "dry-as-dust list," the figure of Swift recedes from these crowded pages.

Swift was never greatly concerned with his "Collected Works." The single volume of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, 1711, the four volumes of the Swift and Pope *Miscellanies*, 1727-32, and the first six volumes of Faulkner's Dublin edition of the *Works*, 1735-8, were recognized by him and received a varying measure of editorial attention. That is all. But the "Collected Works" are expanded by Dr. Teerink to fill, at the time of Swift's death, between sixty and seventy pages, in which comparative values, together with Swift's part, are submerged. The whole section includes many entries which are in no sense "Collected Works" and have scarcely anything to do with Swift, such as general miscellany collections, containing a stray piece or two of prose or verse. Examples are Number 4, a collected volume of *The Examiner*, a collected set of *The Taiter* (15), Concanen's *Miscellaneous Poems* (20), Curll's *Miscellanea* in two volumes (24), Smedley's *Gulliveriana* (32), *The Muse in Good Humour* (77), *The Celebrated Mrs. Pilkington's Jests* (102), Nichols's *Select Collection of Poems* (115), George-Monck Berkeley's *Literary Relics* (120). And there are other miscellanies and stray volumes which have no claim to appear in the section, which only detract

from its reference value and confuse the student. Dr. Teerink has yielded too far to the temptation of false riches.

On the other hand let it be said that his industry in tracing the growth of the Dublin and London editions of Swift's works, and the inter-relationship of the succeeding sets as they were issued by their respective publishers, is remarkable. No one is likely to attempt so tedious a task again. The Faulkner editions in 8vo and 12mo, from 1735 to 1772, the London miscellany sets from 1727 onward, developing into the Hawkesworth edition of the *Works*, followed by the London trade editions of the eighteenth century and Walter Scott's editions of 1814 and 1824, all these are recorded with painstaking completeness, and diagrams compress the information into neat form. Even the successive Edinburgh editions, which have no documentary or textual value, occupy several pages.

But the primary importance of the early collected editions of Swift's *Works* is the growth of the canon and some textual revision. When Swift died a large part of his work lay scattered in manuscript, broadsheet, and scrubby pamphlet. Faulkner, Deane Swift, Sheridan, and Nichols gradually gathered these stray pieces into volume after volume, containing much that was incontestable, together with an admixture of the doubtful and apocryphal. Dr. Teerink's pages do not greatly help the student to an understanding of these developments. And his method of arrangement, in part chronological, in part by the grouping of successive editions of the same work, in part by runs and sets, in part by sub-sections, makes reference difficult. His entries are numbered, but these numbers stride steadily across all groupings and sub-sections without reference to chronological sequence. There are no dates at the head of the pages, or in the margins, to guide the eye and help the mind. In this respect, as in others, Dr. Teerink's bibliography compares badly with Professor Griffith's *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*, which is a far easier work to consult.

Dr. Teerink's second section is devoted to *A Tale of a Tub*, his third to *Gulliver's Travels*. In each instance he had the advantage of earlier workers in the field. There is the scholarly bibliographical and textual work of A. C. Guthkelch and Dr. Nichol Smith for *A Tale of a Tub*, and the work of Dr. Hubbard and the present reviewer for *Gulliver's Travels*. These two sections are definitely more satisfactory than the first, and comparatively little hampered with irrelevant entries. Dr. Teerink has no important contributions



to make, but he has placed in order far more editions of both books, including translations, than are to be found elsewhere. In his introductory note to *Gulliver's Travels* he gives reasons for disagreeing with Dr. Hubbard and the reviewer as to the order of publication of the 1727 octavo and the first duodecimo edition. There is no space here to discuss the question at large, but I cannot see that Dr. Teerink has proved his point. It is quite clear, in any event, that Swift's letter of December 28, 1727, in which he discusses a project for a more expensive edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, adorned with cuts, can have no reference to the duodecimo edition, which was issued for a public demanding something cheaper than the earlier octavos.

The number of Swift's separate pieces is large, and a good bibliography of these is of more importance to the collector, to the historical and textual student than an elaborate conspectus of the collected works. But Dr. Teerink is evidently less interested; he assigns far less space to these than he does to accumulations of collected works, his omissions are more noticeable, and the faults of his method and bibliographical description more apparent. His preface informs us that he considers "collation by quires" is in most instances "absolutely superfluous," that his "size-notation" follows the "practice observed by antiquarian booksellers in their catalogues, who record the volumes as they present themselves to the eye," and he requests the reader "to take this into account." If this method will serve for modern works, it can hardly be justified for bibliographical descriptions of eighteenth-century books and pamphlets. It is not only misleading, but it shirks the very information which the reader often seeks, information which bears upon problems of issue and edition and concerns textual inquiry. It will hardly do to affirm, as does Dr. Teerink, that collation by gatherings is too elaborate for a work dealing with thousands of volumes. In his bibliography of Pope, Professor Griffith finds it possible to give collations both by signatures and by pages. Dr. Teerink frequently describes as 12mos or 16mos publications which are either normal 8vos or 8vos in half sheets. Not only so, but it is difficult to know what Dr. Teerink considers a 12mo to be, for he adopts no fixed standard of measure.

Furthermore, Dr. Teerink disclaims in his preface any intention of dealing with the canon of Swift. But at this time of the day, and in a work of this character, is he entitled to evade a problem most

important to the student? In effect he is unable to avoid it, for his fifth section, running to twenty-five pages, is headed "Doubtful," and he thus marks a distinction. This section numbers several pieces undoubtedly by Swift, and, on the contrary, the section given to genuine "Separate Works" contains some doubtful pieces and some certainly spurious.

Examples of misleading entries in the fourth section, "Separate Works," may be noted. A periodical named *The Muses Mercury*, 1707, edited by John Oldmixon, is entered as a separate work (481) because it contains two riddles which have been attributed to Swift. There is no real evidence for the ascription, and *The Muses Mercury* is not a separate work. *An Answer to Bickerstaff* (494) should have been placed with the doubtfuls. It may be questioned whether Swift had any direct part in the composition of *A Learned Comment upon Dr. Hare's Excellent Sermon* (538). The whole sub-section 567-76, containing editions of the *John Bull* pamphlets, should be removed from the bibliography, as also the collected editions of these pamphlets (5-14) entered in the first section of the work. There can be no reasonable doubt that these prose satires are substantially, if not wholly, the work of Arbuthnot. In 1925 Dr. Teerink published a monograph arguing for Swift's authorship, but his thesis met with no informed acceptance. It is impossible here to discuss the question, but, at the least, it requires explanation that in a copy of the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* in four volumes, 1727-32, profusely corrected and annotated by Swift himself, and now in private possession, there are only three trifling marks against *John Bull*, which occupies well over two hundred pages, and these of a character which might well have come from any casual reader. *John Dennis, the Sheltring Poet's Invitation to Richard Steele* (604) cannot be assigned to Swift, and should have been placed with the supposititious pieces. *A Defence of English Commodities* (614) is extremely doubtful; and *A Young Lady's Complaint* (655) may be dismissed. *The History of Martin* (783-4) is certainly spurious.

Comment in general detail upon separate entries in the fourth section of Dr. Teerink's work would not be possible here, and a few observations are all that can be attempted. There is a Dublin half-sheet edition of *Sid Hamet* (524) not noted by Dr. Teerink. The second edition of *A New Journey to Paris* (536) is not an identical printing with the first; and a third edition may be presumed from newspaper advertisements. There is a further London edition of

*Good Queen Anne Vindicated* (543-4). There is a broadside edition of *Toland's Invitation to Dismal* (580), possibly printed in Edinburgh, and differing from that published in London. Newspaper advertisements indicate further editions of *The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd* (594). There is a Limerick-printed broadside edition of the *Epilogue . . . In the Behalf of the Distressed Weavers* (625-6). The subject-matter of the *Rebus* (632), supposed to be by Vanessa, and its answer attributed to Swift, points to a date four or five years earlier than 1723, which is suggested by Dr. Teerink. There are further editions of *Cadenus and Vanessa* (657-61), and Dr. Teerink's note on the textual problem is rather meagre. There are two quite separate printings of the first part of *Traulus* (699), a minor point which is ignored.

It would be possible to call attention to further oversights and to note a margin of error in the conjectured dates, but this would occupy too much space. The time sequence of the pieces enumerated is also sometimes slightly at fault. This could have been corrected by reference to newspaper advertisements, which have been used to great advantage by Professor Griffith in his bibliography of Pope.

But, passing by minor detail, there is no escaping the fact that Dr. Teerink gets into serious difficulties and is definitely most misleading when he comes to the *Drapier's Letters* and other pamphlets and broadside publications relating to the controversy over Wood's coinage, although he had the great advantage of using Professor Herbert Davis's admirable edition of the letters (see *R. E. S.*, xii. 355-9). The five separately printed *Letters* of 1724, their differing issues and editions, are given as described by Professor Davis, though not as accurately or fully. But the fifth letter, which should, in point of date, have followed the entries 648-50, is placed before them. Furthermore, a Limerick-printed edition of the first letter, which has come to light since Professor Davis's book was published, is not mentioned. And then follows an extraordinary aberration. In three appendixes Professor Davis gives bibliographical lists of prose pamphlets and broadsheets concerning Wood's coinage, verses written by or attributed to the Drapier, other verse pieces, and imitations of the Drapier. Dr. Teerink adopts "the arrangement established by Herbert Davis" and then proceeds to throw the whole bodily into his last section, "Biography, Criticism, &c," where much of it is oddly out of place

and inappropriately described by the page headings. Furthermore, some of the pieces there included were, beyond any doubt, written by Swift. *Prometheus* (1154) is unquestionably Swift's, as are other poems shown on pp. 358-9. In addition, several entries on these two pages would suggest to the reader a separate publication. There is no trace of any separate printing of the *Epigram on Wood's Brass-Money*, *Whitshed's Motto on his Coach*, *Verses on the Upright Judge*, *A Simile on our Want of Silver*, and *Drapier's Hill*. These verse pieces came from Swift's pen and ought not to appear as biography or criticism, nor have they been traced as separate publications. It is difficult to understand why Dr. Teerink should have chosen to confuse his readers when this part of his work had been so admirably prepared for him by Professor Davis.

It must, on the other hand, be placed to Dr. Teerink's credit that he has consigned to the company of the "Doubtful" pieces some long-standing attributions which fully deserved rejection, and he has not yielded to fanciful conjectures. But he has included in this section two or three genuine Swift pieces. *Apollo's Edict* (904) is certainly by Swift. Furthermore, Dr. Teerink copies Ball's mistake of describing it as a broadside. It appeared originally as a four-page quarto pamphlet. No separate publication of *Upon the Horrid Plot* (912), *The Storm* (913), or *Mary the Cook-maid's Letter* (914) has been traced, but they are undoubtedly by Swift, and should not appear among the doubtfuls. There can hardly be a doubt that *The First of April* (917) is from Swift's pen. There is no question that *A New Simile for the Ladies* (960) is by Sheridan, as Dr. Teerink notes, but he has evidently never seen the joint publication of this poem, together with Swift's answer, as a small octavo pamphlet.

It is a pity that the results of so much industry and enthusiasm should be marred by bad method, confusing arrangement, and a desire to catch at every straw. It has not been possible to criticize Dr. Teerink's book save by selection here and there. More might be added. His first section, "Collected Works," in which there is much to be commended, would have been far better had he resisted the temptation to flood it with general miscellanies, odd volumes, and some spurious pieces. The list of "Separate Works" will often mislead the unwary. There are gaps and needless inclusions; and there is no authoritative help to the student in differentiating between the genuine, the probable, the conjectural, and the definitely

apocryphal. In this section, furthermore, the size-notation is confusing; and here, at all events, Dr. Teerink could, with great advantage, have given adequate collations. The want of these is a serious defect. It would have been well also, for this may often be important, to have traced as far as possible the date of publication of pamphlets and broadsides.

If Dr. Teerink has provided a vast amount of detail nowhere else available, a major fault of his work is that in many particulars it proves an inadequate guide, and it is often an unsafe book except for those who can handle it with sufficient knowledge and critical discernment.

HAROLD WILLIAMS.

**Robert Burns. His Personality, His Reputation and his Art.** By F. BLISS SNYDER. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1936. Pp. 119. 6s. 6d. net.

**A Browning Handbook.** By W. CLYDE DE VANE. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1935. Pp. x+533. \$2.50.

**Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815.** By R. MARSHALL. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1934. Pp. xiv+432. 17s. 6d. net.

THE place of honour must be given to Professor Snyder's brilliant Alexander Lectures on *Robert Burns*. A good deal is naturally expected from Dr. Snyder. His *Life of Burns*, published four years ago, is perhaps the best existing biography of the poet, and when read along with the work of another American scholar, Dr. De Lancey Ferguson's edition of Burns's Letters, enables the world almost for the first time to see and know Burns as he was. Of the present volume it is enough to say that the reader is treated generously. Though based, of course, on his larger work, this is no mere dressing-up of what the author has said before, but a fresh, penetrating, and lifelike study. Particularly good are the remarks on Burns's immense all-round ability.

*A Browning Handbook* is a solid and admirable piece of work. It does not supersede Mrs. Sutherland Orr's *Handbook*, which was written virtually under the poet's own eye, as a guide to the meaning

of obscure passages. But Professor De Vane, while modestly presenting merely "a convenient collection of materials . . . and a point of departure for further investigations," has given us a thoroughly relevant, well-informed, and understanding introduction to the whole of Browning's work. In the short exposition given of each poem the historical order is followed, in agreement with Charles Lamb's shrewd remark (quoted in the preface)—"There is only one good order, the order in which the poems were written. That is the history of the poet's mind."

Though appearing first, Mr. Marshall's book, *Italy in English Literature, 1755-1815*, is really the middle section of a study—which may extend to three volumes—of Italian influence in English literature from 1642 to 1900. With the Civil War, just after Milton's youthful period of Italian studies and friendships, that influence, which was so strongly marked earlier both in Chaucer and Shakespeare, as good as disappears for more than a century. Later it reappears, in Mr. Marshall's phrase, in "the white-hot enthusiasm of Byron and Shelley." The present volume deals with the period of *risorgimento* which precedes them, and the part played by Joseph Baretta and also by Mrs. Piozzi is well shown. The remaining portions of the history will be awaited with interest.

D. C. MACGREGOR.

**The Quatrefoil of Love.** Edited from Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 31042 with collations from Bodl. MS. Add. A 106. By Sir ISRAEL GOLLANCZ and MAGDALENE M. WEALE. (E.E.T.S., O.S. No. 195.) London: Oxford University Press. 1935 (for 1934). Pp. xxiv+48. 5s. net.

THIS interesting if not very outstanding religious allegorical poem of late fourteenth-century Northern England was made available to a limited public by the late Sir Israel Gollancz as his contribution to the *English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall* of 1901—where it appears with a prefatory note, but without other apparatus. Gollancz was, at the time of his death, preparing a fully annotated edition of the poem for publication; and it is the text which he had already set up for this purpose which Miss Weale here presents in the light of her own entire revision and with introduction, notes, and glossary of her own. The poem has points of interest in metre,



vocabulary, and style, and these Miss Weale admirably brings out in her very sensible and scholarly apparatus—with the added advantage of conciseness and freedom from that unproductive specialized learning which has too often characterized recent work of similar aims.

Miss Weale has presented the fifteenth-century British Museum MS. as her basic text with remarkable accuracy, though here and there her attempts to indicate typographically palæographical peculiarities of little real moment may be questioned. She uses the Bodley version (also of the fifteenth century) for the purpose of supplying words omitted or defaced or erroneous in the basic MS., but does not tell us quite clearly the reasons which determined her view that the Oxford MS. is on the whole inferior. She is, perhaps, rather too diplomatic in her adherence to readings of the British Museum MS. which are bettered in the Oxford version; and might, one may suggest, have ventured quite safely on a more courageous critical text based on the two MSS. jointly. Little is gained by preserving obviously late spellings which, for instance, spoil the rhyme, when their fourteenth-century forms are known or may be reasonably inferred; and as this edition is meant for the general reading public as well as for the specialist student, it might have been presented rather more attractively by not too bold restorations—so that the text would look more like a poem and less like an academic exercise. But Miss Weale has followed the method here of a revered and justly celebrated scholar in preserving Gollancz's plan for her text, and it must be admitted that she follows the accepted canons of scholarship in what she does.

Miss Weale's introduction is almost a model of what such a thing should be; it contains what is wanted and no more, yet shows considerable learning. In her discussion of the rhymes, she is probably wrong (p. xi) in regarding *fonne*="few" as of Norse origin, and this error appears again later. *Fon* (here spelled *fonne*) is a Northern form of O.E. *hwôn* with the initial consonant sound influenced by *f*-words (O.N. *fá* and O.E. *fēa*): so that the rhyme of *fonne* with *sone* (soon) is a true rhyme on close *ô*. The comparison of our poem with *The Pistill of Susan*—which it much resembles at first sight—by which Miss Weale shows that it cannot be of the same authorship, is excellently done; but on p. xv, in considering the "grouping of lines by part-alliteration," comparison with the alliterative *Morte Arthure* would have been useful, and reference

should have been made to Mr. O'Loughlin's valuable discussion of the matter.<sup>1</sup>

A few detailed remarks are here offered on Miss Weale's text. In stanza V, lines 57-60 appear in confused and meaningless order in the British Museum MS., but no remedy is proposed. Yet the lines are clearly and intelligibly transcribed in the Bodleian MS. which Miss Weale purports to have collated. MS. Bodley Add. A 106 has the lines (57-60) as follows :

Yf þu be sett to seke yitte sall I ye lere  
Whare it is spryngand & euer more newe  
Without any fadyng full fayr & full clere  
Or castyng of colore or chaungye of hewe.

This, apart from minor differences of spelling (I have expanded the usual abbreviations of the MS.), is the same as the British Museum text *except for the displacement of the lines* thus made apparent. In fact, it may be said generally that Miss Weale has not given enough attention to the Oxford MS., which would on several occasions have pointed her to a better reading. In stanza IX (line 111) the late spelling *haulle* of the basic MS. should have given way to *hall* of the Oxford version, since the rhyme is with *salle* (verb); and in stanza XV the first line (183) should end with *hye*, from the Bodleian MS., to preserve the rhyme with *trye*, *crye*, etc.; and in general the faulty rhymes which Miss Weale allows to appear in her text could have been corrected by greater attention to the Oxford text, which she seems to have read with far less exactness than that of London. Again, in stanza XXV (line 317) the Holy Trinity is oddly spoken of as *pase persouns* in the basic text, to the detriment of the rhyme; but the other MS. gives the obviously right rendering *þe persons thre*.

The notes and glossary are well done, though rather too briefly. The otherwise unrecorded word *mellarse* of line 449 (in the phrase *mellarse of lawe*) is wrongly compared with M.E. *mellen*=O.E. *mapelian*, *mæplian*, "to speak"; for it clearly is to be connected with M.E. *mellen*, "to meddle," etc., from O.Fr. *mesler*, *meller*, etc., "to meddle." The poet means "those who meddle with law." In the opening and closing lines of the poem *sall* (*when medowes sall spryng*) is probably what is often called the "Gnomic" use of the verb="are accustomed to, do," etc., rather than "do necessarily," as explained by the editor. Some illustrative matter might

<sup>1</sup> "The Middle English Alliterative *Morte Arthure*," by J. N. O'Loughlin (*Medium Ævum*, iv. 153 ff.).

profitably have been given from O.E. literature; as Miss Weale's exclusively M.E. parallels sometimes give the misleading impression that the devotion to Our Lady which the poet specially wished to urge on his hearers was not known before the thirteenth century. Several points of lexicographical interest are well brought out in these notes, as, for instance, the discussion of *revers* in line 457—"The earliest use of the word given in O.E.D. is 1869."

Taken as a whole, this neat little critical edition shows a high standard of scholarship throughout, and in this respect is outstanding among the many works of our mediæval literature which the Early English Text Society has recently made available.

C. L. WRENN.

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#### SHORT NOTICE

**Edmund Garratt Gardner, 12 May, 1869—27 July, 1935.** A Bibliography of his Publications, with Appreciations by C. J. Sisson and C. FOLIGNO. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. Pp. xvi + 28.

In the spring of 1935 a fund was raised by the friends and admirers of E. G. Gardner to commemorate his retirement in that year from the Professorship which he had held since 1925 at University College, London. The bulk of the sum raised was devoted to the establishment of an Edmund G. Gardner Memorial Prize for Italian studies, to be awarded every five years by a committee appointed by the University of London, but a bibliography of Gardner's writings was compiled under the auspices of the committee of the fund, and this is now printed by the generosity of Mr. Hugh Dent. The bibliography is prefaced by a very graceful little appreciation by Professor Sisson dealing with Gardner as a colleague and fellow-editor of *The Modern Language Review*, and one dealing with his characteristics as a scholar by Professor Foligno. The book is charmingly produced, though some may share the present writer's dislike of the "Joanna" italic, which somehow contrives to give a sensation of "wrong fount" without being sufficiently distinct from the roman to allow the eye readily to pick up matter set in it.

## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

BY H. WINIFRED HUSBANDS

BULLETIN OF THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, Vol. 21, April 1937—

Richard Rolle and a Bishop: A Vindication (E. J. F. Arnould),  
pp. 55-77.

The Dark Comedies (H. B. Charlton), pp. 78-128.

ELH, Vol. IV., March 1937—

The Romantic Movement: A Current Selective and Critical Bibliography for 1936 (W. Graham), pp. 1-21.

Milton and Comets (G. W. Whiting), pp. 41-42.

Reference to *The Third Speech of Lord Digby*; simile in Du Bartas.

John Byddell and the First Publication of Erasmus' *Enchiridion* in English (J. A. Gee), pp. 43-59.

A Bibliographical Note on *Mother Hubberds Tale* (Josephine W. Bennett), pp. 60-61.

Listed separately among books bought by Antony Bacon in October 1596.

Vergil in Spenser's Epic Theory (W. S. Webb), pp. 62-84.

ENGLISH STUDIES, Vol. XIX., April 1937—

The Antagonism of Forms in the Eighteenth Century, IV (B. Fehr),  
pp. 49-57.

Linguistic Theory: Reply to some Critics (A. H. Gardiner), pp. 58-65.

Shakespeare's Contribution to R. Chester's *Love's Martyr*: The Phoenix and the Turtle (G. Bonnard), pp. 66-69.

Voicing of Spirants in English (O. Jespersen), pp. 69-71.

Reply to Professor Trnka.

ÉTUDES ANGLAISES, Vol. I., March 1937—

Regards sur la Poésie de Thomas Sturge Moore (J. Vallette),  
pp. 99-112.

Le Triomphe du Temps ou la Réputation de Swinburne (G. Lafourcade), pp. 129-35.

HERRIGS ARCHIV FÜR DAS STUDIUM DER NEUEREN SPRACHEN, Band 171,

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Zu den æ. Zaubersprüchen (F. P. Magoun), pp. 17-35.

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Zu den angeblichen Schreiben des altmercischen Königs Æþelweald an Aldhelm († 709) (A. Brandl), p. 70.

## JOURNAL OF ENGLISH AND GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXXVI., January 1937—

IE. Final Unaccented *ē* in Germanic (C. E. Bazell), pp. 1-9.

Young Beowulf (Kemp Malone), pp. 21-23.

Three Notes on *Widsith* (H. B. Woolf), pp. 24-28.

Simple and compound names; alliteration of personal and tribal names.

The Suffix *-ess*, etc. (E. B. Dike), pp. 29-34.

Shakespeare's Probable Confusion of the Two Romanos (D. E. Baughan), pp. 35-39.

Johnchristopher, sculptor, and Giulio, painter.

Middleton's *Fair Quarrel* and the Duelling Code (F. T. Bowers), pp. 40-65.

## LANGUAGE, Vol. 13, January-March 1937—

Studies in the Diction of Layamon's *Brut* (H. C. Wyld), pp. 29-59.

## LIBRARY, Vol. XVII., March 1937—

The Lausanne Edition of Beckford's *Vathek* (John Carter), pp. 369-94.

New evidence: D. Levade as translator of Henley's text.

Sir William Berkeley's *The Lost Lady* (R. C. Bald), pp. 395-426.

Playford *versus* Pearson (C. L. Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie), pp. 427-47.

Evidence of seventeenth-century printing costs, sizes of editions, and trade practices.

A Proof-Sheet of 1606 (W. W. Greg), pp. 454-57.

In Garrick's copy of Chapman's *Monsieur D'Olive*.

George Sandys's Account of Campania (E. S. de Beer), pp. 458-65.

A Note on Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (Maurice Kelley), pp. 466-67.

Storage of Printed Sheets in the Seventeenth Century (J. H. Pershing), pp. 468-71.

The Third Edition of Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (Grant McColley), pp. 472-75.

Dekker's *Magnificent Entertainment* (W. W. Greg), pp. 476-78.

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## LONDON MEDIEVAL STUDIES, Vol. I., Part I., 1937—

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Incoherencies in the A- and B- Texts of *Piers Plowman* and their Bearing on the Authorship (R. W. Chambers), pp. 27-39.

- The Substitution of Welsh Sounds in Place-Names of English Origin in the Border Counties of Wales (B. G. Charles), pp. 40-47.  
 Stress-Shifting in Place-Names (A. H. Smith), pp. 48-55.  
 The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh (A. H. Smith), pp. 56-59.  
 The Text of the Burghal Hidage (R. Flower), pp. 60-64.  
 Ellipsis of the Subject-Pronoun in Middle English (W. F. J. Roberts), pp. 107-15.  
 Punctuation in the Early Versions of Trevisa (A. C. Cawley), pp. 116-33.

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 The Date of *Revenge for Honour* (F. T. Bowers), pp. 192-96.  
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 A Manuscript Restoration Prologue for *Volpone* (R. G. Noyes), pp. 198-200.



- A Note on *The Tempest* (J. W. Thompson), pp. 200-01.  
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